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GENERAL ASSEMBLY

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE 13th MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Friday, 25 September 1992, at 3 p.m.

President:	Mr. GANEV	(Bulgaria)
later:	Mr. KALPAGE (Vice-President)	(Sri Lanka)

- Address by Mr. Punsalmaagiin Ochirbat, President of Mongolia

- General debate [9] (continued)

Statements made by

Mr. Solana Madariaga (Spain)
Mr. Faleiro (India)
Mr. Cetin (Turkey)

/...

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Statements made by

Mr. Andrews (Ireland)
Mr. Abdulla (Oman)
Mr. Hannibalsson (Iceland)

Address by Mr. Obed M. Dlamini, Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Swaziland

Statements made by

Mr. Poos (Luxembourg)
Mr. Mocumbi (Mozambique)

- Adoption of the agenda and organization of work: note by the Secretary-General [8] (continued)

The meeting was called to order at 3.30 p.m.

ADDRESS BY MR. PUNSALMAAGIIN OCHIRBAT, PRESIDENT OF MONGOLIA

The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will first hear an address by the President of Mongolia.

Mr. Punsalmaagiin Ochirbat, President of Mongolia, was escorted into the General Assembly Hall.

The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly I have the honour to welcome to the United Nations the President of Mongolia, His Excellency Mr. Punsalmaagiin Ochirbat, and to invite him to address the Assembly.

President OCHIRBAT (spoke in Mongolian, English text furnished by the delegation): Allow me at the outset to convey to you, Sir, my delegation's sincere congratulations on your unanimous election to the high post of President of the General Assembly at its forty-seventh session.

We are indebted to Ambassador Samir Shihabi of Saudi Arabia, whose skilful and indomitable leadership contributed a great deal to the success of the last session of the General Assembly.

I extend congratulations and best wishes to the representatives of the new States Members of the United Nations: Armenia, Azerbaijan, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, the Republic of Moldova, San Marino, Slovenia, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan.

Mongolia commends Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali for his dynamic performance. He has assumed the responsibilities of his post at a time when the Organization is regaining its effectiveness, and the objective of its democratization and restructuring becomes increasingly topical. I wish you success, Mr. Secretary-General, in your endeavours.

I feel honoured and privilieged to address this Assembly of nations today, at a time of renewed hope in the world Organization and recommitment to

(President Ochirbat)

the underlying purposes and principles of its Charter. I have come to this session of the General Assembly to tell the world community about Mongolia's domestic and external policies and its approaches to current international issues and to express Mongolia's full support for the principles and activities of the United Nations.

As the wheel of history turns, mankind finds itself on the threshold of the third millennium. The century that started with a fierce struggle waged by the workers' movement and was two brutal world wars, a powerful movement for independence and dramatic scientific and technological breakthroughs is culminating now with a new wave of human rights, freedom and democracy.

Over the past several decades the world was divided into two antagonisitc camps that grew into two powerful, confrontational alliances, but now it has witnessed the end of the cold war. One could hardly find a country in the world that had not been drawn into this truly global face-off.

By indulging in ideological hostilities and a reckless arms race, mankind brought itself to the brink of self-destruction and wasted vast resources, many opportunities and much time, thereby hampering world economic development and social progress and damaging the environment. On the other hand, the colonial system collapsed and many Asian, African and Latin American countries gained independence and strengthened their positions in the international arena. Mankind has reached into outer space and started taming nuclear energy. The positive and negative effects of all this have been reflected in the activities of the United Nations, the mirror of world tendencies and international relations.

The East-West cold war came to an end as a direct result of the increased interpendence of nations, the interrelationship between the political,

(President Ochirbat)

economic and humanitarian spheres, the bankruptcy of confrontational policies and the arms race, the changes in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe and the emergence of new thinking. Thus the 1980s and 1990s mark, in my view, the beginning of a transitional period shaping a new world order. At this very juncture, with the disintegration of the bipolar world and the creation of a multipolar one, we are called upon to determine the principles that will govern our lives and our forms of cooperation in the next century.

It is vitally important to establish a new and just world order and to strengthen the ethical and legal bases for guaranteeing the fundamental principles of inter-State relations.

Mongolia believes that the United Nations should be the focal point of the develoment and coordination of these processes. We therefore fully share and support the conclusions reached to that effect at the recent Stockholm Conference of the Inter-Parliamentary Union. In this context, the year 1992 could be described as a year that has strengthened these positive trends.

(President Ochirbat)

The first ever summit meeting of the Unted Nations Security Council was held this year, demonstrating the growing prestige and increasing role of the United Nations. Mongolia fully supports the ideas and many specific proposals concerning preventive diplomacy and ways and means of building confidence, contained in the report of the Secretary General - "An Agenda for Peace" - prepared as a follow-up to the aforementioned Security Council summit meeting. The report outlines some concrete proposals on the prevention of disputes and conflicts, on increasing the role of the United Nations in peacemaking, peace-keeping and post-conflict peace-building, as well as on the mechanism of ensuring the security of medium-sized and small States by political means. The importance of these proposals was most vividly demonstrated by the Persian Gulf crisis and its lessons. Today the strong cannot defy with impunity the will of the weak. Mongolia is of the view that the main lesson of this conflict is that the world community proved its determination no longer to tolerate actions in violation of the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations.

Pluralism and democracy, advancing in every part of the world, penetrate the very fabric of international relations and open up broad prospects for dialogue and cooperation. Progress has been made towards settling some regional conflicts peacefully and freeing the world from weapons of mass destruction.

In this connection, I would like to note with appreciation such important events as the finalization, through consensus, of the draft Convention on the Prohibition and Elimination of Chemical Weapons; the agreement between the Presidents of the United States and the Russian Federation on the reduction of the two countries' strategic nuclear weapons by the year 2003, far over and beyond the limits stipulated in the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START);

(President Ochirbat)

and the accession of the People's Republic of China and of France to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. We also commend the near-nuclear countries for commencing efforts to contribute to disarmament. We would hope to see all other States in possession of nuclear weapons join the nuclear disarmament talks.

In a nutshell, although it is too early today to give an exhaustive definition of the new world order, some of its principal features are already at the stage of maturing.

However, these changes, which have brought about prospects of a new era in international relations, fail to prevent new outbreaks of tension that jeopardize world peace and security. The new hotbeds of conflicts are being caused by inequality, ethnic and religious strife and other complex issues of long standing. As an example of this, I would refer to the crisis in the former Yugoslavia, which is deeply troubling the world community these days. Mongolia deeply regrets the bloodshed taking place between the nations that used to share one home, and supports the efforts undertaken by the United Nations, as well as such a regional organization as the European Community, in order to resolve the crisis. We hope that the decisions reached at the London Conference will yield positive results.

Mongolia holds the view that it is possible to solve the Yugoslav crisis peacefully in the manner in which the Cambodian issue is now being settled. In this connection, we would like to compliment the permanent members of the United Nations Security Council, the Secretary-General and influential countries of the region that are taking an active part in the settlement of the Cambodian problem.

A special feature of today's international relations is the need

(President Ochirbat)

appropriately to combine the national interests of a country with those of the world community. From this point of view, the United Nations activities depend on the situation in and the policies of its Member States. Therefore, allow me briefly to describe the state of affairs in Mongolia, one of the Members of the United Nations, its foreign policy and security interests.

The history book of Mongols consists of diverse and unique chapters: the rise and fall of the Great Empire; over 200 years under colonial rule; 70 years of Communist experiment. Today, at the turn of the century, we, the Mongols, have embarked on the road to join the mainstream of civilization.

Over the two-odd years since Mongolia has irrevocably embraced democratic reforms, it has managed basically to dismantle the old social system. We support pluralism through the policies and practical activities of the State. As a result, many political parties have emerged and the conditions for democracy's steady march onward are being created.

Our State structure, which was formed following the first free elections of 1990, laid down the foundations for democratic movement, took the initial steps towards a market economy and promulgated the new Constitution legally guaranteeing the continuity of democratic reforms. Last June the second elections were held, resulting in the formation of new State and government institutions and in the formulation of the next stage of the transitional period. This has become yet another guarantee of the irreversibility of our movement towards democracy and a market economy.

However, a general assessment of this past period speaks of a multitude of problems, both objective and subjective in nature, in resolving political, social and economic issues of the current period.

(President Ochirbat)

The country lacks financial resources. And, as a result, such serious problems as the inadequate supply of food and consumer goods to the population, and raw materials, equipment and spare parts for industry, beset us. The country suffers from acute shortages of housing, medicine and other vital needs.

The underdeveloped economic infrastructure and the lopsided pattern of foreign economic relations aggravate our problems. All this leads to the slump in production, to inflation and a decline in living standards.

Like other developing countries, we are not in a position to cope with these vicissitudes on our own. Donor countries and international organizations have shown appreciation of our commitment to democratic reforms and the enormity of our problems by rendering support and assistance essential to us. I take this opportunity to express, on behalf of the Mongolian people, our sincere gratitude to the Governments and people of the United States, Japan, the Republic of Korea, the Federal Republic of Germany, the Netherlands, Denmark, the People's Republic of China, the Russian Federation and others, as well as to the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, the Asian Development Bank and the United Nations Development Programme for their kind cooperation.

(President Ochirbat)

Mongolia, in its relations with other countries, has always upheld such universal principles of international relations as mutual respect for independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-interference in each other's internal affairs, and will continue to do so in the future.

Our foreign policy has undergone a radical change over the past two years since we committed ourselves to the development of democracy and market relations, to guaranteeing human rights and fundamental freedoms. Our foreign policy has been freed from the ideological bias that had prevailed for decades.

For Mongolia, which is situated between two of the permanent members of the United Nations Security Council, relations with its immediate neighbours have always been and will remain a fundamental factor in its foreign policy.

Mongolia stands for the development of balanced relations with those two countries. We are currently reshaping our relations with them to meet the requirements of genuine equality and mutual benefit and the new realities of international politics. The withdrawal of Russian troops, in line with the agreement reached by the two Governments in the wake of the improving climate for regional understanding and cooperation, is being completed. This is in full accordance with our new concept of national security.

In order to contribute to disarmament and trust in the region and world-wide, Mongolia declares its territory a nuclear-weapon-free zone. We shall work towards having this status internationally guaranteed.

With the disintegration of the former Soviet Union into new independent States and the incorporation of these into the international community, Central Asia is once again emerging as a separate geopolitical entity. We believe that this vast land area, strategically located as a bridge between Europe and Asia, should be reflected in the regional representational

(President Ochirbat)

structure of the United Nations and the land-locked position of its countries duly taken into account.

I should like to take this opportunity to emphasize that we are against turning Central Asia into a nuclear testing ground. The Mongolian Government has repeatedly emphasized the possibility of developing a dialogue on a regular basis among the States of North-East Asia, an area that is home to more than one-third of the world's population and has a host of military and political, trade and economic, ecological and other pressing problems to deal with. The current climate in this subregion offers a favourable opportunity to realize such ideas and initiatives. At this point, I should like to note with appreciation the recent establishment of diplomatic relations between the People's Republic of China and the Republic of Korea.

Other important features of our time are the increasing political and economic interdependence of nations and the intensification of regional integration processes. It should be noted that in the Asia-Pacific region, in spite of the ethnic, religious and cultural diversity as well as the disparity in the levels of economic and social development, such institutions as the Pacific Economic Cooperation Conference (PECC) and Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) have come into being to facilitate the processes mentioned earlier.

We believe that these forums could be broadened in terms of their membership with a view to securing the widest possible representation. Mongolia's intention is to develop trade and economic relations with the countries of the region on the basis of mutual benefit and to participate actively in the international division of labour that is taking shape here.

(President Ochirbat)

Last year, Mongolia joined the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries as a full-fledged member. We understand this Movement to be, inter alia, an important political factor in the protection of the independence and security of small States.

The contribution of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, embracing almost two thirds of the United Nations membership, is highly important in enabling the United Nations to effectively address the tasks that face it. The recent 10th Conference of Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Countries, held in Jakarta, has reiterated its readiness to cooperate with the United Nations in building a new world order based on law, equality and justice. We are of the view that this Summit has been crucial in responding to certain assertions and allaying certain doubts concerning the Movement's alleged loss of relevance and viability in evolving its principles and objectives in line with the new realities and in mapping out the Movement's strategies. In our view, it has also given an impetus to the expansion of South-South cooperation.

With the cold-war era at an end, a propitious opportunity is now at hand for the United Nations to work unhindered towards the attainment of its objectives. The activities of the United Nations during the past two years provide a convincing example.

Although the political climate on our planet is rapidly changing for the better, the same cannot be said, unfortunately, of international economic relations. We are concerned about the lack of noticeable progress in tackling the pressing issues of the world economy, especially those related to the development of developing countries and their indebtedness. Mongolia, therefore, believes that enhancing the United Nations role in developmental

(President Ochirbat)

efforts should constitute a major component in the restructuring of the Organization.

The United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, held in Rio de Janeiro, eloquently testifies to the inextricable link between environment and sustainable development. What is now required is to launch multilateral concerted action to implement the Rio Declaration and Agenda 21.

At that United Nations Conference my country proposed the establishment of an international network of ecological pattern countries and the inclusion of the territory of Mongolia in it as a special zone under international protection. In doing so, we proceeded from our understanding that the preservation of Mongolia's largely unspoiled natural environment is part and parcel of global, and particularly Central Asian, ecological concerns. Our country is open to international cooperation in the implementation of research, protection and restoration programmes. We hope that the Member States of the United Nations will support our proposal and promote its realization.

(President Ochirbat)

I should like to point out the imperative need to develop and strengthen the legal basis of inter-State relations, accelerate the codification of international law and increase the competence of the International Court of Justice, for the sake of asserting a new international order the world over.

In conclusion, I should like to express my confidence that this session the United Nations General Assembly will successfully complete its deliberations.

The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the President of Mongolia for the important statement he has just made.

Mr. Punsalmaagiin Ochirbat, President of Mongolia, was escorted from the General Assembly Hall.

AGENDA ITEM 9 (continued)

GENERAL DEBATE

Mr. SOLANA MADARIAGA (Spain) (interpretation from Spanish): Allow me first of all to convey to you, Sir, my most sincere congratulations, on my own behalf and that of my delegation, on your election to the presidency of the General Assembly at its forty-seventh session. I wish you every success in the execution of your tasks during the coming months. I also wish to pay a tribute to your predecessor, Ambassador Samir Shihabi of Saudi Arabia.

I should like to give a warm welcome to all those countries that have joined the Organization this year, and I hope that their active participation in this forum will contribute to the efforts of the international community to preserve peace and promote justice and progress among nations. With the admissions of Armenia, Azerbaijan, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, the Republic of Moldova, San Marino, Slovenia,

(Mr. Solana Madariaga, Spain)

Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan, the Organization's goal of universality has been promoted.

I should also like to convey to Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali the respect of the Spanish Government for his efforts and dedication in carrying out the important responsibilities with which he is entrusted. You may rest assured, Mr. Secretary-General, that you can count on the full collaboration of the Spanish authorities.

During the general debate at the forty-sixth session, the common denominator of many statements heard in the General Assembly was the tremendous changes that had taken place in the world since the middle of the previous decade. Far from abating, the pace of that trend to transformation has significantly accelerate over the last 12 months.

At this stage of the process, it would be no exaggeration to say that we have before us a new pattern of international relations. After the disappearance of the East-West confrontation and its replacement by dialogue and cooperation, decisive progress has been made in disarmament agreements and arms control, at both world-wide and regional levels. Long-festering regional conflicts have been settled or may well be on their way towards settlement. To the progress made along the road to peace in Angola and Cambodia we must add the process begun last year in Madrid with the opening of the Middle East peace conference, which constituted an invaluable point of departure for the solution of the Palestinian problem and for achieving the necessary and definitive harmonious relations between Arabs and Israelis.

Likewise, the current peace plan for Western Sahara should culminate soon in the holding of a referendum on self-determination under the auspices of the United Nations.

(Mr. Solana Madariaga, Spain)

I also wish to stress the progress made in the eradication of the policy of apartheid in South Africa. We fully support the efforts of the Secretary-General to put an end to violence and to encourage the resumption of the internal negotiations that must lead to the total eradication of apartheid and to the establishment of a truly democratic regime in South Africa.

Similarly, the Peace Agreement signed in Chapultepec, on 16 January of this year, between the Government of El Salvador and the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front constitutes a milestone of paramount importance for the peace process in Central America, a region that has been in a constant state of conflict for the past decade. Spain, which has so many links to that region, has been and is still actively collaborating in that process through its participation in the Group of Friends of the Secretary-General for peace in El Salvador..

In that connection, Spain welcomes the exemplary manner in which the Governments of El Salvador and Honduras have settled their territorial, insular and maritime disputes.

The map of Europe has undergone a profound transformation over the past year. The unification of Germany now appears fully consolidated. Russia and the formerly subjugated countries that recovered their independence and freedom are struggling to consolidate their democracies and to overcome the serious economic difficulties brought on by their transition to a market economy. The European Community, on its way towards union, is acquiring a greater political role, in accordance with its undoubted economic strength. Democratic ideals and practices and the recognition of human rights have reappeared vigorously not only in Eastern Europe but also in Latin America and

(Mr. Solana Madariaga, Spain)

many African countries, despite the grave economic situation now prevailing on that continent.

Those auspicious events should not lead us to forget that the collapse of the former system has opened up a great void fraught with risks in which disorder may find a natural home. In some extreme cases, we are witnessing the exacerbation of previously repressed or latent nationalist forces which are giving rise to such bloody conflicts as those at present dividing the new Caucasian Republics and the new States that emerged after the dissolution of the former Yugoslavia. Such situations reveal that the horrors of the past can always be repeated if we do not keep looking to the future. This is something that neither Europe nor the rest of the international community can or should allow.

The seriousness of the conflict now taking place in the territory of the former Yugoslavia is a good example of what I have just said. In the Conference that started in London, the many efforts of the international community converged in an attempt to put an end to that complex conflict by helping the parties to resolve their differences through the negotiations currently taking place in Geneva. Aggression, the use of force, and the violation of human rights will only generate destruction and hatred and will meet with the continued condemnation and determined action of the international community to put an end to them.

(Mr. Solana Madariaga, Spain)

Meanwhile, the gap between the developed and the developing countries persists and, in many cases, has even widened. Old conflicts have intensified and new ones have appeared. The tragedy presently afflicting Somalia is palpable proof of the terrible effects that underdevelopment, poverty, natural disasters and violence can have when they coincide in time and place. This situation demands greater solidarity and a swift collective response such as the one decided in the framework of the United Nations, which was aimed at putting an end to such terrible suffering and making possible a peace process that will lead to national reconciliation in that country.

For all these reasons, after the initial moments of surprise and euphoria, of perplexity and optimism in the face of what seemed to be the emergence of a new world order, we are now coping with the need to incorporate these new changes, so as jointly to build a more just and secure international society.

This is the great task confronting the United Nations today. The choice is very clear: we cannot allow the Organization to trail behind events, letting itself be moulded by them. On the other hand, we can make the United Nations an active forum and the foremost centre in the transformations affecting us all, capable of influencing and shaping these transformations. This alternative, this leading role, which is the one desired by Spain for the United Nations, is the choice that seems to have been made by the Secretary-General when he drew up his excellent report entitled "An Agenda for Peace" (A/47/277), and when he reported to the General Assembly on the work of the Organization.

I referred earlier to changes in the international climate that have made it possible to defuse various deeply-rooted regional conflicts. The United

(Mr. Solana Madariaga, Spain)

Nations has contributed to this objective to a large extent through the peacemaking activities of the Secretary-General carried out in the framework of the peace-keeping operations. The results obtained over recent years have made it possible to speak, truly, of a process of revitalization of the Organization.

However, the present momentum behind this process has proven insufficient, as demonstrated by the persistence of some old conflicts and the outburst of new forms of violence. From this perspective, the Spanish Government believes that the set of suggestions put forward by Mr. Boutros-Ghali represents a very useful basis for a systematic and effective response by the Organization and the international community to any kind of conflict, whatever the causes and outcome. It is essential, to this end, to secure the cooperation of all Member States in the complex tasks ranging from conflict-prevention to the consolidation of peace.

The increase and enhancement of peace-keeping operations requires a growing effort on the part of us all. Spain is aware of this and, after participating in a noteworthy manner in the United Nations Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG) in Namibia and in the United Nations Observer Group in Central America (ONUCA), is contributing with a large number of army and police officers to the work of the United Nations Operation in El Salvador (ONUSAL). Moreover, Spain is participating actively in the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM II) and is collaborating with the United Nations Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara (MINURSO). Spain is also prepared to participate with a military contingent in the task of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Finally, Spain provides aid - mainly humanitarian - within the framework of other operations established by the Security Council.

(Mr. Solana Madariaga, Spain)

The peace-keeping operations have also undergone a qualitative change, as new and different activities have been undertaken that go beyond their traditional limits. These new dimensions require special training and a rapid response that can hardly be obtained if we do not follow the Secretary-General's suggestion of establishing special national units ready to be rapidly deployed at the service of the Organization. Spain is prepared to consider this proposal seriously after appropriate consultations with the other Member States and with the Secretary-General.

Nevertheless, we must bear in mind that peace cannot be made and cannot be consolidated with the use of military means alone. It is necessary, whenever possible, to resolve conflicts before they degenerate into armed hostilities, using all the means for peaceful settlement of disputes provided for in the Charter. In this context, I would like to underline the Secretary-General's statement that greater confidence on the part of States in the International Court of Justice would contribute significantly to the Organization's task of peace-seeking. Spain has already given proof of this confidence by recently accepting the Court's compulsory jurisdiction and by supporting the possibility of authorizing the Secretary-General to request advisory opinions of the Court on legal questions arising within the scope of his activities.

Spain has firmly supported the strengthening of the United Nations role in the field of preventive diplomacy. That is why we decided to co-sponsor the initiatives leading to the approval, in 1988, of the Declaration on conflict-prevention and, in 1991, of the Declaration on Fact-finding by the United Nations in the Field of the Maintenance of International Peace and Security. These efforts should be enhanced, and in this connection, such measures as fact-finding missions, an early-warning system and the

(Mr. Solana Madariaga, Spain)

reinforcement of the role of regional organizations can be very useful in preventing conflicts which, if allowed to start, might later require the launching of a much more costly exercise for the re-establishement of peace.

In this sense, we also believe that all efforts that could contribute to the consolidation of peace once it has been reached, should be promoted in order to avoid the resurgence of new conflicts over the not yet extinguished flames of a pre-existent conflict. In this regard, I would like to underline here the considerable increase in the Organization's efforts in the field of humanitarian assistance, as well as the tasks recently carried out in the field of electoral assistance in countries where democracy and peaceful cohabitation are threatened or insufficiently established. The role of the Organization on behalf of refugees has also been of great importance for the consolidation of peace, as has its work in the field of disarmament and the promotion and defence of human rights.

The Member States of the Organization must be aware that the new tasks that we are entrusting to the United Nations are increasing in number and complexity day by day, and are without precedent in its history. In order for the Organization to be prepared to meet these new demands for international action, the unconditional financial backing of each of its Members is required.

This year, we have completed the drafting of the text of the Convention on chemical weapons, which envisages the prohibition of the development, stockpiling and use of these weapons, as well as their destruction. The elimination of this type of weapon is a long-sought objective that should now be attained. Spain decidedly supports the adoption of this Convention at this session of the General Assembly, and hopes that it will soon enter into force.

(Mr. Solana Madariaga, Spain)

We welcome the proposal of the Twelve, adopted by the General Assembly last year, to create in the Secretariat a Register of Conventional Arms with regard to the international transfer of such arms, which envisages the transmission of information by all Member States. It is necessary for all of us to cooperate, so that this Register may be established as the clearing-house for the exchange of information on all flows of conventional arms, and in the near future to include information on other types of weapons and other data concerning the military capacity of States.

To the achievements of the Organization in the field of disarmament and arms control must be added this year other important progress made at regional and world-wide levels aimed at reinforcing the stability and security of our planet and thus the purposes of the United Nations.

I am referring to the withdrawal of all tactical nuclear weapons, from areas where they were deployed until very recently, to the territories of the United States and the Russian Federation. We must underscore as well the agreements reached recently by President Bush and President Yeltsin on a drastic reduction of the nuclear arsenals in their respective countries. We also welcome the initiatives taken by several nuclear Powers to declare moratoriums on their nuclear tests, or to reduce them to a bare minimum.

In the European region, one must underscore the significance of the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe and its complementary Act on personnel strength, both already in force, as well as the conclusion of the Open Skies Treaty and the adoption of a new series of confidence-building measures.

(Mr. Solana Madariaga, Spain)

Spain welcomes all these achievements and hopes that they will lead to further progress in this field.

The ultimate beneficiary of the United Nations efforts to achieve a more peaceful, just and secure world is undoubtedly mankind as a whole.

Thanks to a large extent to United Nations action we have made significant advances in the defence and protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms internationally. However, we are living in a period of instability and uncertainty, in which not only economic inequalities but also the resurgence of intolerance, xenophobia and exacerbated nationalism, among other factors, are endangering personal freedom and security. That is why it is necessary to intensify our efforts in this area, so as to encourage understanding and respect for the rights of individual members of minorities and for the needs of the most vulnerable groups of society. In this respect, we consider particularly important that this Assembly approve by consensus, as the Commission on Human Rights and the Economic and Social Council have recently done, the draft declaration on the rights of persons belonging to national, ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities.

My country places great hopes on the World Conference on Human Rights scheduled for next year in Vienna. This Conference should, on the basis of existing universally accepted standards, draw the basic guidelines for our future activity in this field, so that individuals and peoples may, through democracy and development, fully enjoy the benefits of human rights and fundamental freedoms.

The achievements of the United Nations in the field of international peace and security contrast with the limited progress in the sphere of economic and social development. The world gap between rich and poor has been widening in an alarming way. The United Nations Development Programme's Human

(Mr. Solana Madariaga, Spain)

Development Report for 1992 shows that the richest 20 per cent of the world population receive 82.7 per cent of total world income, whereas the poorest 20 per cent receive only 1.4 per cent.

The international community cannot remain passive in the face of these grave and growing disparities. The Organization, owing to its universal membership and the breadth of its purposes and principles, must play a leading role to guide and stimulate the establishment of guidelines for the United Nations system as a whole, in order to find solutions to the important issues related to the development and well-being of all peoples.

It is necessary in this respect to strengthen the Economic and Social Council. Some progress has already been made in its restructuring, but it is necessary that such restructuring be continued and deepened in order to revitalize this principal organ of our Organization. It also seems necessary to envisage the reform of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) in order to adapt it to the new realities, as was underscored at its eighth session, held in Cartagena de Indias last February.

We support the establishment by the Assembly during its current session of a high-level Commission on Sustainable Development that was agreed to at the Conference on Environment and Development, held in Rio de Janeiro last June, where the concept of sustainable development was identified as a central element that should inspire the theory and practice of development policies in the coming years.

We should look for new ways of dealing with the main task of attaining sustainable development and assign greater financial resources to this task, in particular by those countries that are in a position to do so. My country is aware of the fact that it must make an effort in proportion to its economic capacity. For this reason, the President of the Spanish Government at the

(Mr. Solana Madariaga, Spain)

summit meeting at Rio de Janeiro, after recalling that Spain had tripled its official aid over the past 10 years, made a commitment to triple its aid again in the course of the coming decade. This is a difficult challenge that we have taken upon ourselves but one that we are ready to fulfil.

The world population has more than doubled over the past 40 years, and according to recent estimates it will double again in the next 30 years. This astounding growth demands a serious analysis on the part of the international community as well as a careful study of the consequences that it generates, such as migratory flows, the problems of large urban concentrations and the enormous demands it creates in the areas of food, housing, health care and education. These are all issues that should be studied in depth at the Conference on Population and Development, to be held in Cairo in 1994.

It is not surprising that social problems are gaining importance at the present time, when many economies are undergoing tough processes of adjustment and others are going through difficult transitions from a central planning system to one of market economy. The summit conference on social development to be held in 1995 is therefore a timely initiative. Proper preparation is the best guarantee for its success. The basic guiding principle for its work should be the concept of human development; it should examine the necessary measures to provide greater opportunities for education, medical care and employment to the world's inhabitants. It is becoming daily more obvious that economic growth in itself does not automatically improve people's living conditions, neither within nations nor internationally. Therefore, it is essential to give a social dimension to the concept of economic development.

Allow me to refer now to two great threats to society today: drug trafficking and terrorism.

(Mr. Solana Madariaga, Spain)

The drug-trafficking business is so grim and complex and has so many ramifications that efforts to combat it must be based on the strengthening of national measures and on effective international coordination and cooperation.

The producer countries must receive the assistance needed to grow alternative crops and to enable them to confront the powerful and well-armed drug-trafficking organizations. Those countries producing substances likely to be used in the manufacture of drugs should inspect and control the exports of those substances. Consuming countries - also responsible for the drug-trafficking - must strengthen programmes and measures aimed at decreasing domestic demand. Moreover, perseverance is necessary in inspecting bank accounts used by drug traffickers and in reporting money-laundering when suspicions of its connection with this illegal activity exist. Concealing information on the drug-trafficking business amounts to complicity in criminal activity.

Terrorism, for its part, continues to pose a threat to human life and to coexistence between nations. It is a threat of an international character and as such requires international efforts for its eradication. General Assembly resolution 46/51, adopted by consensus last year, was a further step in United Nations work aimed at developing greater international cooperation for this purpose.

Those two threats, especially that of terrorism, are interrelated with illegal arms dealing, which must be combated just as firmly by the international community.

There is one issue whose importance for Spain is well known: the decolonization of Gibraltar. I wish to restate my Government's determination

(Mr. Solana Madariaga, Spain)

to continue, with dedication and in a constructive spirit, the negotiating process with the United Kingdom established by the Brussels Declaration of 27 November 1984, bearing in mind the doctrine of the General Assembly that this is not a case of self-determination but a situation that affects the territorial integrity of Spain. I trust that the negotiating efforts of both Governments will soon lead to a definitive solution that, while taking into account the legitimate interests of the people, will put an end to the colonial status of Gibraltar - a status that is clearly anachronistic and inappropriate to the times in which we live, especially since the General Assembly's proclamation of the International Decade for the Eradication of Colonialism until the year 2000.

Last July, in Madrid, the Heads of State and Government participating in the Second Ibero-American Summit adopted a document of conclusions reaffirming their aspirations to a free, open and pluralistic society directed towards progress and social justice, a society in which free rein is given to the full exercise of individual freedoms and in which no one is excluded or persecuted. I am certain that this is an ideal we all share.

The Ibero-American Summit declared itself in favour of reforming the United Nations system and stressed the need to give it momentum so that it could respond more efficiently to the will of all its Member States. The celebration, in 1995, of the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations will be a good occasion for the attainment of this objective, which will enable the General Assembly to undergo renewal and revitalization, following on that already experienced by the Security Council. The Organization would then more faithfully reflect the important changes that have taken place in international society during the last 50 years.

(Mr. Solana Madariaga, Spain)

We are all well aware that in today's world no nation can stand on its own. The fate of each and every one of our countries is linked to the fate of the others. I wish therefore to conclude my statement by expressing the firm conviction that in the new global and integrated society that is emerging at the end of this century no intelligent action can be taken that is not based on the exercise of the most resolute solidarity.

Mr. FALEIRO (India): May I, at the outset, congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the General Assembly at this session. I should also like to express our appreciation for the stewardship of the forty-sixth session of the General Assembly by your predecessor, Ambassador Samir Shihabi of Saudi Arabia.

This is the first session of the General Assembly since Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali assumed the office of Secretary-General of the United Nations, and I take this opportunity to pay tribute to his dynamism, diplomatic skills and zeal for reform.

I should also like to welcome into our midst the new Members of the United Nations and wish them success in their multifarious efforts and tasks.

There have been dramatic changes world wide since the Assembly last met, in 1991. Some of these changes augur well, while others present uncertain prospects. While the cold war and the East-West confrontation are now, happily, but aberrations of the past, the shadow of conflict and suffering looms large in Yugoslavia, in Somalia and, indeed, in many other parts of the world.

We cannot, therefore, be complacent or euphoric. What should have made the world safer has at the same time unleashed tendencies - ethnic, sectarian and other - that threaten to keep it unsafe. The efforts of developing

(Mr. Faleiro, India)

countries to improve their socio-economic conditions remain hamstrung by the inequities of the present international economic order.

Therefore, what we need to work for is a new international order free from war, poverty, illiteracy and injustice. In this great endeavour the United Nations has a central role to play. Some eight and a half months ago, in this very city of New York, at the summit of the Security Council, Prime Minister Narasimha Rao pointed out that

> "Lasting peace and security necessarily require comparable levels of human happiness across the globe. It is impossible to think of a United Nations functioning usefully or harmoniously while humankind continues to be riddled with ever-increasing disparities". (S/PV.3046, p. 96)

That is the concern that animates and reinforces our commitment to a United Nations dedicated as much to peace and stability as to progress and prosperity.

The international community's efforts in this direction are none the less haunted by the shadow of continuing violence and conflict around the world. India has been deeply concerned at the conflict in Yugoslavia. The tragedy of Bosnia and Herzegovina demands redress. Its people must be given the chance to lead their lives in peace. India believes that the good work the United Nations is doing in that region deserves all our support. We also trust that decisions taken here will not complicate either the search for peace or the functioning of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in a difficult and dangerous situation.

(Mr. Faleiro, India)

Somalia's tragedy is equally heart-rending. The wretchedness of its people, caught in a seemingly endless cycle of violence and misery, cries out for redress. The United Nations has instituted a valiant and generous operation there to provide relief to those affected. India believes that all the Somalian parties should work together to bring the conflict to an end so that tranquillity can be restored and the people of Somalia can be given the chance to work out their own destinies in peace.

After years of suffering, the people of Cambodia aspire to build a sovereign, independent, non-aligned nation for themselves. The United Nations cannot falter in Cambodia, and the parties concerned in that country have a responsibility to ensure the success of the United Nations efforts.

India has consistently supported the sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-aligned status of Afghanistan. We hope that all the parties there will work to restore peace and harmony so that the people of Afghanistan can have the opportunity, free of violence and conflict, to work for their own well-being.

A glimmer of hope is visible on the West Asian horizon, with Israel and its Arab neighbours settling down to a dialogue. The numerous resolutions adopted by the Security Council and the General Assembly provide the necessary goals for those negotiations. The occupation of Arab lands should be vacated and the restitution of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to establish an independent State, as well as the security of all States in the region, should be assured if a genuine settlement with lasting peace is to be achieved in that part of the world.

What the United Nations was able to do in restoring to Kuwait its independence and sovereignty was a singular achievement. India has

(Mr. Faleiro, India)

traditionally enjoyed the warmest of relations with Kuwait, and we trust that following the restoration of its sovereignty Kuwait will also be able to recover the prosperity that it formerly enjoyed.

I should like to add here that India feels sympathy for the civilian population of Iraq, and we believe that its needs should be looked at with generosity. Iraq's sovereignty as a State and its territorial integrity should be respected.

The recent unfortunate violence in South Africa and the setback to the negotiations there for the elimination of apartheid will, we hope, be temporary. It is encouraging that the parties concerned have welcomed the catalytic role of the United Nations, which is fully committed to the objective of establishing a democratic, non-racial and united South Africa. As the country that first brought the question of apartheid to the United Nations in 1946, India is hopeful that the presence of United Nations observers will help to end the violence there and to get the negotiating process going once again.

India has noted the recent changes in Fiji. I hope that the Government of Fiji will eschew racial and ethnic discrimination and revert to democratic governance at an early date.

The Secretary-General has been able to record some progress on the issue of Cyprus. The acceptance by the parties concerned of the Secretary-General's "set of ideas" is significant. We share the Secretary-General's hope that the next round of direct talks in October will be the conclusive one.

At this session the Assembly will take up the matter of the recently negotiated chemical-weapons Convention. The Convention opens up possibilities for similar action in other areas of disarmament. In this context, India in

(Mr. Faleiro, India)

1988 proposed an action plan for nuclear disarmament within a specified time-frame. As an immediate step, the United Nations should envisage the following: a convention on the non-use of nuclear weapons, a verifiable freeze on the production of fissionable material for weapons purposes, a suspension of nuclear-weapon tests and negotiations on general and complete disarmament.

Non-proliferation is a laudable objective, and India's commitment to it has been affirmed time and again. But there should be no distinction between nuclear-weapon States and non-nuclear-weapon States when it comes to rights and obligations. The geographical spread of nuclear arsenals has, as it were, nuclearized the globe. Therefore, the international community's efforts should be directed against that global menace. As part of them, regional non-proliferation should be considered only within the context of a properly specified region, taking into account the security concerns of the countries of the region, whose prior agreement should be obtained.

Human rights have gained emphasis in recent times, and deservedly so. India welcomes the changes around the world that have strengthened human rights and fundamental freedoms. In line with our democratic traditions, independent judiciary and press and alert public, India has decided to set up a national human-rights commission further to safeguard and promote fundamental human rights in India.

I should like to point out here that one of the most vicious forms of human-rights violations today is the violence unleashed by terrorists. And terrorism assumes a particularly pernicious character when it is aided, abetted and sponsored from abroad. Such sponsorship is against the principles of the United Nations Charter, and should be vigorously opposed by all.

(Mr. Faleiro, India)

The United Nations recognizes its responsibilities for providing humanitarian assistance to Member States facing grave humanitarian crises. The newly created capacity of the United Nations to deal with such situations has performed creditably. It is important in this context that we mobilize the United Nations to address the root causes of many such disruptions: poverty, illiteracy and lack of development. It is equally important for the United Nations to be seen to be acting correctly and impartially in this field and at the request of the country concerned.

The report of the Secretary-General entitled "An Agenda for Peace" (A/47/277) articulates the wealth of experience that the United Nations has gained in recent years in peacemaking and peace-keeping, and is an important and welcome input into our study of how the role of the United Nations in the maintenance of international peace and security can be strengthened. India, given its traditional and long-standing contribution to United Nations peace-keeping forces, takes a special interest in the matter. I trust that we shall be able to respond positively and constructively, in keeping with the United Nations Charter, to the Secretary-General's ideas. It should be ensured that the measures envisaged do not lead to the abridgement of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States. They should also respect the cardinal tenet of non-interference in the internal affairs of States.

Just as international activism should not violate accepted norms of international relations, the principle of self-determination has to be seen in the context of respect for national sovereignty. Self-determination can apply only to peoples under colonial or alien domination or foreign occupation, and not to integral parts of sovereign nations.

(Mr. Faleiro, India)

The implementation of the proposals made by the Secretary-General will mean a more vigorous Security Council. An enhanced mandate for the Council requires matching transparency and democracy in its functioning. This cannot be done without an expansion of the membership of the Council to reflect the increased membership of the United Nations over the past few years, as well as the realities of the many changes in the international situation. And here I would submit that along with economic criteria, other relevant criteria should be given due weight in this context.

The expansion in membership that I referred to is all the more essential if the Council is to ensure its moral sanction and political effectiveness. As the Secretary-General points out in his report on the work of the Organization

> "Democracy within the family of nations means the application of its principles within the world Organization itself." (A/47/1, para. 169)

Similarly, the General Assembly has to be made more effective so as to represent not only the changes in its membership, but also the significant character of its universal composition.

An agenda for development is as important to the United Nations as an agenda for peace. Any effort to assign to the United Nations only a complementary role in the economic and social field is, in fact, contrary to the letter and spirit of the Charter. The United Nations should continue to have a central role in macroeconomic policy formulation and implementation, because this is the only forum for reaching an international consensus on development. Developing nations around the globe, including India, are engaged in major reforms of their internal economic policies and mechanisms with a view to integrating their economies with the global economy. These

(Mr. Faleiro, India)

reforms will have very limited meaning unless the external economic environment becomes conducive to the growth and development of developing countries.

The Secretary-General, in his report on the work of the Organization, makes it clear that

> "the Organization's responsibilities and commitments in the political and security area should not be carried out at the expense of its responsibilities in the development field ..." (A/47/1, para. 66)

This underpins and reinforces the continuing commitment of the United Nations in the field of development, particularly of the developing countries.

The world economy is integrating both globally and regionally. But in the process, the needs of the developing countries are not finding the attention and response that they deserve. Hence, it becomes imperative that certain international events succeed - such as the Uruguay Round of Multilateral Trade Negotiations, whose early, successful and balanced outcome would inject growth impulses into the world economy as a whole. The North-South dialogue is languishing and deserves reactivation. There are various other inequities in global economic interaction - such as poor commodity prices, monetary imbalances and others - that call for urgent redress. The developing countries look to the United Nations for correctives in these fields. Socio-economic progress in developing countries will, in turn - I have no doubt about it - enrich the prosperity of the developed world itself.

Here, may I mention a disquieting aspect in this field, namely the tendency to impose non-economic conditionalities in international development assistance. They should be avoided so that the effectiveness of development assistance may not be impaired.

(Mr. Faleiro, India)

My delegation sees merit in a number of proposals in the area of the developmental activities of the United Nations put forward by various groups, particularly the Nordic countries. In our view, one of the principal objectives of the exercise should be to decentralize the operational activities of the United Nations system so that countries and regions with their special characteristics and levels of development may be able to implement programmes suitable to them. Also, adequate resources should be found to promote development in the developing countries.

The process of the restructuring of the United Nations should take into account the additional responsibilities assigned to the United Nations by the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) that was held this year. The concept of sustainable development has to be translated into workable strategies and policy measures. In the pursuit of sustainable development, developing countries need resources and, what is more, technical assistance, as well as environmentally sound technologies on preferential and concessional terms. I do hope that the establishment of a Commission on Sustainable Development in the course of the present session will lead to effective follow-up of UNCED. The creation of a Planet Protection Fund, which places on all countries, except the least developed, an obligation to acquire and develop environment-friendly technologies, will facilitate universal participation in the collective effort to attain sustainable development.

The non-aligned countries, meeting at the level of Heads of State or Government in Jakarta earlier this month, issued the Jakarta message, which states:

> "A shift in focus of international relations to strengthen multilateral cooperation based on genuine interdependence, mutuality of interests and shared responsibility, has become indispensable."

(Mr. Faleiro, India)

If we, in the international community and here at the United Nations, are to cooperate to combat global menaces and inequalities, we will need to forge a global partnership. And here, I am reminded of what the Prime Minister of India stated at the recent summit of non-aligned countries to which I have referred:

> "We are happy to note that the United Nations, at last, is coming into its own in the fifth decade of its existence. While even today there is a tendency to subordinate the global agenda to narrow national concerns, we are happy to note that the United Nations is more effective than ever before. The question now is to make it even more effective."

Let us also hope that the Assembly as its present session will promote the effectiveness of the United Nations even further by shaping it as an instrument of international consensus and action and of common benefit in all matters of international concern.

Mr. CETIN (Turkey): It gives me great pleasure, Sir, to congratulate you on your election to the high office of President of the General Assembly. We are happy to have a distinguished leader from a neighbouring country at the helm of the Assembly for the next 12 months. Our relations with Bulgaria are excellent, and we are very glad to have supported your candidacy.

The forty-sixth session of the General Assembly was remarkable and eventful in a number of ways. Ambassador Samir Shihabi, the President at the last session, deserves a special tribute for his distinctive contribution to the efforts to enhance the stature of this universal forum. The competence and wisdom he displayed in guiding our work have justified the confidence we placed in him.

(Mr. Cetin, Turkey)

We are fortunate that, in the person of Mr. Boutros-Ghali, the United Nations has found the experience and wisdom to which it can entrust itself for guidance to success. My Government is confident that this distinguished statesman from Africa, who is the product of the ancient and glorious civilization of Egypt, will provide the right mix of continuity and change in the renewal and restructuring of this world body. We wish our new Secretary-General success, and pledge him our support.

(Mr. Cetin, Turkey)

My delegation welcomes and salutes the 13 new Members of our Organization. We take special pride in the fact that Turkey enjoys ties of kinship, language and culture with some of them. They will surely enrich and strengthen our global family.

In the past few years we have witnessed one of the great turning-points of history. The cold war has come to an end. The international landscape, characterized for so long by ideological confrontation and nuclear stalemate, has undergone a fundamental change. The bitter East-West rivalries that dominated every aspect of international affairs are finally behind us. These momentous developments have made it possible to settle a number of conflicts which were a direct result of the cold war. From Africa to Asia to Latin America, people have been able to lay aside ideological disputes and get on with the business of reconciliation and peacemaking. The United Nations may rightly take pride for having played an important part in bringing together former ideological adversaries and brokering agreements. It has demonstrated how effective it can be by playing a leading role in the liberation of Kuwait, showing that it can function as its founders intended nearly half a century ago.

We were at last able to look forward to a world liberated from the awful threat of nuclear destruction, with nations enjoying the fruits of commerce and industry in peace, security, freedom and democracy. However, it now appears that we were all perhaps carried too far by the new wave of optimism. From the Balkans and the Black Sea basin to the Transcaucasus, and from Afghanistan to Somalia, there have emerged new conflicts pitting nations and ethnic communities against one another. Now peace and security are threatened by destruction and economic ruin, compounded by the horrors of "ethnic cleansing" and mass starvation.

(Mr. Cetin, Turkey)

The most severe challenge to the new order has been posed by the series of crises engulfing the former Yugoslavia. The international reaction to the sinister designs of the former Yugoslav army in Croatia last year was not forceful enough to deter the aggressors at that time.

Today the bitter consequences of our inadequate response are being harvested throughout the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina, whose sovereignty and territorial integrity have been violated in defiance of international law and the Charter of the United Nations.

While the international community has condemned Serbian aggression and the abhorrent practice of "ethnic cleansing" and demanded an immediate end to all violations of international humanitarian law, the suffering in Bosnia and Herzegovina goes on. People are still getting killed. Mandatory resolutions of the Security Council are yet to be fully implemented. Hundreds of thousands of Bosnian refugees face an uncertain future away from their homes. Those surviving in the ruins of once-flourishing cities and towns are threatened by starvation and disease. As winter approaches, the need to provide security and shelter to the population becomes ever more pressing. I have myself had a chance to glimpse the suffering in Sarajevo.

In addition to our international responsibility and obligations as a member of the world community, the historical and cultural bonds which my country shares with the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the presence in Turkey of a large number of citizens of Bosnian descent place us in a special relationship to the fate of this country.

At a time when Bosnia and Herzegovina are being carved up by the aggressors, priority has been given to the provision of humanitarian assistance. Therefore, while supporting other efforts to reach a peaceful

(Mr. Cetin, Turkey)

settlement, we have also put forward an action plan that consists of a set of concrete and effective measures designed to stop the fighting in that country. We fear that further continuation of the Bosnian conflict could lead to greater dangers. We remain prepared to assist any concerted international action to bring about an end to the Bosnian tragedy.

On Iraq, we remain concerned two years after the Gulf crisis. Baghdad has yet to demonstrate that it truly wishes to take its rightful place in the international community. The Iraqi Government should comply fully with the relevant Security Council resolutions. My Government will be the first to welcome a return to normality and the restoration of normal relations between Iraq and its neighbours.

From this rostrum Turkey has on many occasions expressed its consistent stand on the question of Palestine. Today, I wish to reaffirm our support for the negotiating process on the Middle East conflict launched in Madrid in October 1991. This is a very important opportunity for peace, and we call on all the parties to seize it to arrive at a comprehensive and lasting settlement on the basis of Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973).

As a neighbouring country, Turkey follows very closely the developments in the Caucasus. In this region, the conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan is a source of deep concern for us because of its implications for peace and security in the whole area. Turkey holds the view that in this region there can be no place for adventurism and reckless behaviour. Armenia should disengage from Nagorno-Karabakh and withdraw its forces from Azerbaijani territories. We urge the parties to achieve a negotiated political solution on the basis of respect for the inviolability of international borders, for

(Mr. Cetin, Turkey)

minority rights and for the principles of the United Nations Charter and relevant Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE) obligations and commitments. We shall continue to work for peace in this region.

In the same spirit, we look forward to further progress in establishing democracy and restoring peaceful conditions in our neighbour and friend, Georgia.

In Afghanistan, we had hoped that all would put aside their differences and start the process of reconciliation. However, we have been greatly dismayed by the recent eruption of fighting in Kabul. Turkey calls on all sides in Afghanistan to put an end to this fratricide and to start working for peace, so that the reconstruction and rehabilitation of this devastated country may begin and millions of Afghan refugees may finally return to their homes.

In South Africa, we fully support the democratization process, which should lead to a complete dismantling of apartheid and to the creation of a new non-racial society in that country, based on due respect for the human rights of all South Africans.

The search for a negotiated settlement of the Cyprus question continues. The proximity talks which started on 18 June within the framework of the Secretary-General's good offices mission have registered some progress and resulted in the beginning of face-to-face talks between the leaders of the two communities.

(Mr. Cetin, Turkey)

This positive turn in the negotiating process has been achieved in great part owing to the constructive contribution of President Denktas. However, much remains to be done before we can reach our objective.

It is our sincere hope that prior to the resumption of the direct talks on 26 October between the leaders of the two communities, sufficient ground will be covered so that an early completion of the work on the set of ideas will be possible. Once that stage is reached, Turkey stands ready to participate in the four-party conference to conclude an overall framework agreement.

We are gratified to note that in our day democratic pluralism, the rule of law, free and fair elections and respect for human rights have finally become the universally accepted attributes of a modern State. The best guarantee of respect for human rights is the existence of a democratic form of government. In other words, democracy and human rights are inseparable.

We welcome the progress of democracy in all regions of the world. We expect the United Nations to play a more active role in the strengthening of democratic institutions. We regard the ever-growing number of requests being received at the United Nations to assist in the holding of elections as a very encouraging development.

In the field of human rights, no country can claim to have attained perfection. All countries experience violations of human rights, and all must, whatever their records may be, strive to improve their performance in this area.

In Turkey our human-rights legislation and practices are kept under constant review in order to eliminate abuses and rectify shortcomings. As a party to all of the European instruments and control mechanisms aimed at

(Mr. Cetin, Turkey)

protecting human rights, as well as to the Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, our objective is to guarantee everyone the fullest enjoyment of human rights and to prevent any violations or malpractices. We have made important strides in Turkey, and we are resolved to maintain this course.

On a broader plane, we are concerned with the growing incidence of xenophobia and new forms of racism that increasingly threaten the very existence of migrant communities in Europe. Turkey is directly affected by this negation of human values, since there are more than 2 million Turkish citizens living in European countries, either as migrant workers or as their dependents. Like all individuals, these people too are entitled to enjoy security of person and protection by the State against random violence, threats or intimidation. We urge the host countries to ensure the protection of these individuals, to see to it that their human rights are duly respected, and effectively to prevent and punish violence and racist crimes against them. All manifestations of xenophobia and discrimination must be curbed if tolerance and mutual understanding are to put down deep and lasting roots. Non-governmental organizations should spend more time and energy in monitoring violations of the human rights of migrant communities.

My delegation would like to draw the attention of the General Assembly to the widespread phenomenon of subversive violence carried out by terrorist groups. Such violence constitutes a most serious infringement of human rights and fundamental freedoms, including the basic right to life. It aims at nothing less than the destruction of democracy. This is a crucial fact which we must never forget. We think the time has come for the relevant United Nations bodies, the Rapporteurs of the Commission on Human Rights, and the

(Mr. Cetin, Turkey)

non-governmental organizations to address this question of terrorist violence as a matter of priority.

Having experienced rapid social change and urbanization, Turkey today seeks to improve the quality of life of its population, to ensure equal advancement opportunities for all and to promote both individual initiative and community solidarity. We are focusing on protecting vulnerable groups so that they can play a productive role in society. In other words, Turkey strives to achieve economic growth with a human and social dimension.

My Government believes that social problems affecting the international community will be increasingly difficult and costly to overcome if concerted action is not taken promptly. Turkey attaches great importance to international efforts directed at easing social problems and tensions and supports the convening of a world summit for social development. The Government of Chile should be commended for its imaginative initiative in this direction.

I should now like to turn to international economic issues. The political developments in Eastern Europe and in the former Soviet Union, the aftermath of the Gulf crisis and the protracted recession in the industrialized countries have had negative effects on the world economy. The World Economic Survey reports that for the first time since the First World War the global economy has not grown. The events of the past year have continued to obstruct and render fruitless the efforts of the developing countries to restructure their economies.

With the economic policies of all countries converging as never before, the time has come to launch a concerted effort to create an international economic environment more congenial to growth and sustained development.

(Mr. Cetin, Turkey)

Countries with economies in transition are continuing their efforts to ensure integration into the world economy. The major difficulties of the developing countries are well known.

We regret that the Uruguay Round of trade negotiations has not yet been concluded. This raises fears of protectionism. Since trade is a major vehicle for developing countries to break free of the burden of foreign debt and pursue their development efforts, the necessary political will must be displayed for these negotiations to be concluded successfully.

The United Nations Conference on Environment and Development was a major step towards broadening the scope of economic development in a sustainable manner. The Conference accelerated the universal push towards global sustainable development. Turkey believes that this momentum is now irreversible. We must look beyond the Conference and devise policies that would help to perpetuate and strengthen this momentum.

Turkey holds the view that a good way to work towards the objectives of peace, political and social stability as well as economic development is through regional cooperation. The political changes of the past few years have broadened the opportunities for such cooperation. In full awareness of this promising trend, Turkey has taken the initiative of launching a comprehensive scheme for expanded cooperation between the countries of the Black Sea region. The aim of this regional cooperation is to ensure that the Black Sea becomes an area of peace, stability and prosperity in which regional cooperation can be used as a tool to accelerate the integration of the participating States into the global economy.

(Mr. Cetin, Turkey)

At the high-level segment of the Economic and Social Council last July, there was a focused discussion on restructuring the economic system of the United Nations. The economic and social structure of the United Nations needs to be developed in a way that will enable it better to respond to the growing challenges of our changing world.

With the addition of new Members, the question of the distribution of seats in United Nations bodies to geographical regions comes up for consideration. It would be desirable also to consider whether the current geographical groupings conform to our present-day needs. We know that the artificial division of Europe between East and West in the United Nations is the result of ideological differences which have ceased to exist. The question of merging the Group of Western European and Other States with the Eastern European Group should be given active consideration.

The challenges before the United Nations are as great as ever. Despite the ending of the cold war, conflicts rage on in many parts of the world and threaten to proliferate. Economic problems persist, made worse by a recession which will not go away. The humanitarian problems confronting the international community have never been more daunting. There continue to be massive violations of human rights in many parts of the world, while the environment raises problems which we must solve if we are to survive on this planet.

Great as these challenges are, we have in the United Nations a comprehensive framework within which we can operate and address mankind's problems. The end of ideological conflicts makes this possible. The restructuring carried out in the Secretariat under the leadership of our newly elected Secretary-General is a good beginning in strengthening our

(Mr. Cetin, Turkey)

newly elected Secretary-General is a good beginning in strengthening our Organization. There is a new spirit in the Security Council and in the Economic and Social Council. The General Assembly has never been more representative. The report of the Secretary-General entitled "An Agenda for Peace" (A/47/277) provides, in a timely manner, the intellectual foundation for our future activities. The United Nations must not only set the tone and provide political guidance to regional organizations in their efforts to secure peace, but must also be prepared to assume its leadership role. It must not fail to live up to its responsibilities under the Charter. The conditions are right for the great challenges to be met successfully. For the United Nations to pass the test, everything depends on the Members who must act in concert and with courage. My delegation undertakes to work with other delegations in a spirit of cooperation and compromise so that our Organization may live up to its high promise and serve mankind at this crucial time.

Mr. ANDREWS (Ireland): I extend my warm congratulations to you, Sir, and to Bulgaria on your election to the office of President of the General Assembly. Ireland, as one of the Vice-Presidents of the Assembly, looks forward to cooperating closely with you as you guide our work at this session of the Assembly.

In the weeks ahead the Assembly will examine many aspects of current international life. But today I want to focus on two issues that I believe, my country believes, my Government believes, require our urgent attention.

First, we must act now to save the millions starving in Somalia; and secondly, the United Nations must move the questions of justice and development to the top of its agenda. We have had too many Somalias.

(Mr. Andrews, Ireland)

Our Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros-Ghali, is the first African to lead the Organization, and I wish to begin my short address with that particular continent.

Last month I spent three or four days in Somalia, and I will shortly return there with the President of Ireland, Mary Robinson. She has decided to visit Somalia to show solidarity with the people of that starving land, and to underline the compelling need for more effective international action.

My visit was a profoundly disturbing experience. Words fail before the scale of the catastrophe and the depth of the suffering. Yesterday at one feeding station alone in Baidoa, which I visited during my visit, 532 people died in one day. Today, many more will die. And tomorrow. Until we act. It is a scandal. It is a scandal for Somalia's leaders who continue to squabble and fight while their people continue to starve and die. It is a scandal for outsiders, for the developed world, for the membership of the United Nations, who have failed to respond swiftly and effectively.*

Throughout, international non-governmental organizations and organizations from my own country have taken the lead, and I believe it is now time for Governments and the international community to follow. I pay a tribute to their humanitarian work and their determined efforts to confront us with this appalling crisis. Their generosity and courage should inspire a more comprehensive and committed response from the international community.

What must be done?

First, we must increase the volume of food and relief supplies reaching Somalia. Unless 60,000 tons of food can be distributed each month, children, women and old people will continue to die. There will be more Baidoas.

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* Mr. Kalpage (Sri Lanka), Vice-President, took the Chair.

(Mr. Andrews, Ireland)

Secondly, food and medicine must be distributed in conditions of civil order. Ambassador Sahnoun, the exceptional and very worthy Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, is vigorously promoting improved security. He deserves our full support. The deployment of United Nations troops will provide an essential measure of protection for food distribution. We must all, particularly the regional organizations and Somalia's neighbours, impress on clan and faction leaders the need to cooperate fully with the aid effort.

Thirdly, we must work for a process of national reconciliation and for the formation of a Government with national authority. A political solution is essential for long-term recovery and to prevent a relapse into the horror that we now witness daily.

The international community has the resources and the skills to save Somalia. What is needed is the political will and the organizational drive to harness those resources and deploy those skills. We have no more urgent task.

For all our honest endeavours, we live in a world beset by inequality, by gross disparities and imbalances of wealth and resources. So often do nature and society combine to perpetuate injustice that the sceptic might conclude that humanity's best efforts are more often than not unequal to the challenge.

Our "Agenda for Peace" must embrace also an agenda for justice and compassion. This imperative was obscured by the cold war.

It is perhaps understandable that throughout those dangerous years international attention and political energies were absorbed by questions of security. But the era of ideological confrontation is, happily, over and at an end.

(Mr. Andrews, Ireland)

We must grasp this opportunity to build a more humane and just international system, a system that will focus on the welfare of the individual - the need for food and shelter, for human rights, for political freedom and for equality. We cannot forget that the same Charter that assigns to the United Nations responsibility for preserving international peace and security also gives the United Nations major responsibilities for promoting social and economic development.

(Mr. Andrews, Ireland)

The moral responsibility of the international donor community is clear. None of us finds it easy to allocate extra resources for aid in the current difficult economic climate, but we have an obligation to provide adequate humanitarian relief for immediate crises, as well as financial and technical assistance for longer-term development. For reasons of size and economic circumstances, the scope for Ireland to donate significant amounts of aid remains limited. However, I can say that private support in Ireland for non-governmental organizations involved in development has grown steadily. Today Ireland has the highest rate of private development assistance, as a proportion of gross national product, of all countries in the world. The Irish people have themselves shown their generosity, and the Irish Government aims to respond by increasing our official development assistance.

But the effort called for is wider than development assistance. Notwithstanding the end of the cold war and the disappearance of East-West confrontation, the opportunities for international cooperation are not being grasped. It is simply unacceptable that most Africans are poorer today than they were 30 years ago, that in a world that spends a trillion dollars every year on weapons of the most sophisticated kind we cannot find the resources to provide bread and clean water for millions of our fellow citizens. What is missing is a clear political focus and, by definition, a clear, directed political will.

Already the international community has made a connection between the environment and development. But there are other areas in which we must look for new and broader approaches: in the international financial and economic system; in spending on armaments; and in the way in which our international organizations work. Economic activity cannot be divorced from political responsibility.

(Mr. Andrews, Ireland)

How welcome it would be if the quality of analysis and the clarity of direction contained in the Secretary-General's "Agenda for Peace" could be brought to bear on a new agenda - an agenda for justice and development - if, when we meet here again a year from now, we were to have a thorough report, bearing the authority of the Secretary-General, which would point the way forward on aid, trade, finance, commodities and debt, a report that would develop concrete proposals to remedy the organizational deficiencies that so often thwart our best intentions. I believe that in the years ahead the success of our Organization will be measured not only by its response to individual situations of conflict but also by the way in which it deals with these urgent questions of development.

The end of East-West rivalry has not brought an end to conflict or threats to peace. On the contrary, many disputes frozen by the cold war have re-emerged with vicious and deadly impact. We must intensify our cooperation on international peace and security. The January summit of the Security Council was a timely initiative, which has led directly to the Secretary-General's ambitious and thought-provoking document "An Agenda for Peace". That document assembles a range of important ideas for consolidation of the peace-keeping activities of the United Nations, as well as for extension of the role of the United Nations into the new areas of preventive diplomacy, peacemaking and peace-building.

Ireland has long supported the peace-keeping activities of the United Nations. Today my country, small though it may be in population and in resources, participates in 10 of the 12 peace-keeping missions currently in the field. But, like the Secretary-General, we have felt the need to develop further the capacity of the United Nations to make and keep the peace. We therefore endorse the direction of the Secretary-General's thinking.

(Mr. Andrews, Ireland)

I welcome in particular the attention given to preventive action. The earlier the United Nations can identify and act on a threat to the peace, the better are the chances of averting the outbreak or prospective outbreak of hostilities. The proposals for fact-finding missions, for improved early warning and for the preventive deployment of United Nations forces can and should be implemented now.

We also support the Secretary-General's proposals for the strengthening of peace-keeping. The activities of the United Nations in this area are amongst the most innovative achievements of our age. We are prepared to work actively with the Secretariat and with other member States in coping with the new demands and problems that have emerged in relation to logistics, equipment, personnel and finance.

I want to say a brief word about the financing of the United Nations. Here, I am struck by the Secretary-General's clear and urgent warning about the poor financial health of the Organization. At the very moment when the United Nations has begun to assume a more effective role in the interests of peace, when it is looked to by suffering people everywhere to provide protection and aid, its work is hampered by financial uncertainty.

Let me put it simply: the Organization cannot function effectively, cannot meet the demands that we the members make upon it, unless all Member States pay their assessed contributions in full and on time. We call on all members to fulfil their financial obligations under the Charter, and we look to the General Assembly, at its current session, to adopt measures to put the Organization on a secure financial footing.

I know that reform of the United Nations - and, in particular, of the Security Council - is a sensitive issue that touches the very essence of post-war international cooperation. But, after almost 50 years it is

(Mr. Andrews, Ireland)

reasonable to ask if the structures and methods of work agreed upon then correspond fully with contemporary realities - with the growing, and now almost universal, membership of the United Nations; with the Organization's new tasks; and with the great changes that have taken place in economic and political relations.

The time has come to take up these issues frankly here - within the United Nations itself. We can only profit from such a discussion. Our aim should be to ensure that the decisions of the Organization are truly authoratitive and representative of the will of the entire international community.

One of the most significant achievements of this century has been the development of an ethic, a morality, of human rights. We have set our face uncompromisingly against violations of human rights - against torture, slavery, apartheid. It is simply not acceptable that an individual can be sacrificed to the interests of a State system - rendered nameless, an afterthought as history marches on.

Our modern ethic extends to the realization that human rights are essential in relations between States as well as in our national political systems. None of us can turn our backs on systematic violations of human rights or retain full trust and confidence in those responsible for such violations. To respect human rights is to respect conscience itself, whose power for good has been illustrated many times in the course of this century - by a Mahatma Gandhi, by a Martin Luther King, or, in the past few years, by a Vaclav Havel or a Nelson Mandela, who, from a prison cell - "enduring the most" - changed his country's history.

(Mr. Andrews, Ireland)

By upholding the rights of the individual we bring the welfare and dignity of men and women to the centre of our political preoccupations. This must be the central message for next year's world conference on human rights, but I am deeply concerned that it is in danger of being lost sight of in the preparatory work. In this of all fields, we must escape from an adversarial approach and hold firmly in view the meaning of our work for the suffering of the many.

I should like to make a few remarks in connection with disarmament. We cannot slacken in our determination to make progress on disarmament and arms control. The proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and the development of new and sophisticated conventional weapons pose a major threat to international peace and security and to regional stability.

I welcome the recent agreement in the Conference on Disarmament on the chemical-weapons Convention. I welcome too the accession of France and China to the nuclear-non-proliferation Treaty. As we prepare for the 1995 Review Conference, we appeal to those countries that remain outside the Treaty to join us in making the non-proliferation regime truly universal. This is a goal for which Ireland has long striven. The effort to reduce and eliminate nuclear weapons and to end nuclear testing once and for all must be redoubled. Nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction can have no place in our future security relations.

The British Foreign Secretary has already spoken in the name of the twelve member States of the European Community about the major regional challenges confronting our world - the Middle East, Cambodia, South Africa, Yugoslavia and other conflicts - and I fully endorse his statements in that regard.

(Mr. Andrews, Ireland)

Over the past year, the Irish Government has worked tirelessly for the resumption of political dialogue which might lead to a lasting and comprehensive settlement of the problem of Northern Ireland. I am happy to report that our efforts bore fruit with the recommencement some months ago of a process of dialogue and negotiation involving the Irish and the British Governments and the constitutional political parties in Northern Ireland. The shared objective of this process is

"to achieve a new beginning for relationships within Northern Ireland, within the island of Ireland and between the peoples of these islands".

The Irish Government will do everything in its power to reach a settlement which will overcome present divisions and lay the foundations for lasting peace, stability and reconciliation among the Irish people. We believe such a settlement can be achieved only on the basis of the equal legitimacy of the two traditions which exist on our island. The nationalist and unionist traditions are equally valid. Each must be accorded equal respect and given meaningful political expression in new political arrangements.

A valuable acknowledgement of the rights of the two traditions exists already in the Anglo-Irish Agreement. Over the past seven years, the Agreement has performed an extremely valuable role as an instrument of cooperation between the Irish and British Governments on a wide range of matters relating to Northern Ireland. Issues which have received particular attention include relations between the security forces and the community in Northern Ireland; public confidence in the administration of justice; respect for human rights and the law; the prevention of discrimination wherever it exists and the development of greater North/South economic cooperation.

(Mr. Andrews, Ireland)

The Irish Government has made it clear that we would be prepared to consider a new and more broadly based agreement or structure if such an arrangement can be arrived at through direct discussion and negotiation between all of the parties concerned. The present talks are exploring that possibility. In our view, arrangements must build upon, rather than detract from, the crucial contribution made by the Anglo-Irish Agreement to political progress.

It is our earnest hope that the process of dialogue which is under way at present, and in which I am personally participating, will lead to agreed arrangements which represent a fair and honourable accommodation between the two traditions on the island of Ireland. Nationalists and unionists must both feel that their political, civil, economic and social rights are fully protected and that structures are in place which respect and accommodate their respective aspirations.

All of the participants in the present talks are committed to a forward-looking and constructive approach. For our part, we in the Irish Government are prepared to bring all the necessary reserves of good will and patience to bear in the search for an agreed outcome. The best hope of ultimate success lies in the insistent desire for peace on the part of the vast majority of Irish people, in both North and South, and our determination that the violence and turmoil which has been suffered over the past 23 years in Northern Ireland and on the island of Ireland shall not be visited upon future generations.

Those who resort to violence in the pursuit of political aims are the enemies of the Irish people. They seek an Ireland built not on respect for the aspirations of each tradition but on bloodshed, hatred and despair. All

(Mr. Andrews, Ireland)

the efforts of the Irish Government are directed towards the creation of conditions which will ensure that the scourge of violence is removed for ever.

The only true path to peace, justice and stability lies in the healing of wounds and in reconciliation between the two traditions on a basis of complete equality. There is much that divides the two traditions but there is even more that unites us. The common ground between North and South, I have no doubt, will be significantly expanded by our joint progress over the years ahead along the road towards European union. By building on our shared values and objectives, we will bring closer the peaceful and stable future to which we all aspire.

Mr. ABDULLAH (Oman) (interpretation from Arabic): Allow me at the outset, Sir, to congratulate you on your election to the presidency of the current session of the General Assembly. There is no doubt that your diplomatic experience will lead our deliberations to a successful conclusion.

Allow me also to take this opportunity to thank and congratulate His Excellency Ambassador Samir Shihabi and the members of his Bureau for the exemplary manner in which they steered the work of the forty-sixth session.

We are quite fortunate to have at the head of the United Nations Organization so highly qualified and skilful a statesman as Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, who has assumed the responsibilities of this international Organization at a most sensitive and crucial time in international relations.

Since his recent assumption of his office, his administrative skills and abilities and the structural reforms he has carried out have shown that he is

(Mr. Abdullah, Oman)

a worthy successor to his capable predecessor. We thank him for his devoted efforts, especially in areas of unrest and tension, and wish him continued success.

The forty-seventh session of the General Assembly is convened in a promising climate that augurs well for international relations. The discernable features of the political scene have been drastically transformed. Confrontation has disappeared, giving way to great expectations and aspirations regarding an unshakable belief in the basic rights of man, the upholding of justice and the social and economic development of peoples in the context of a new world order.

The prevalent international climate provides us with a rare opportunity to give priority to human solidarity and cooperation over any other consideration in order for us to establish that new world order on the secure foundations of peace, mutual security and respect, and the promotion of the rule of law in inter-State relations.

The hopes and aspirations focused on the new world order, require, more than ever, that the Member States work together, analyse the current trends and channel them, as much as possible, towards the realization of the expectations this new world order has given rise to, through a number of effective joint actions of solidarity and cooperation that would be more effective than mere protestations of good wishes and good intentions.

It is encouraging to note that the universality of the United Nations is being enhanced day after day. Since the last session of the General Assembly, thirteen more States have acceded to the membership of the Organization, namely Armenia, Azerbaijan, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, the Republic of Moldova, San Marino, Slovenia, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan and Georgia.

(Mr. Abdulla, Oman)

We welcome the admission of these 13 States to our Organization for, in addition to its significance for the principle of the universality of the Organization, they will no doubt enrich our debates with valuable insights and views.

My country welcomes these new Members to the United Nations and wishes them and their peoples every progress and prosperity.

The Gulf, in view of its God-given strategic, economic and cultural importance, has always been the focus of the attention of numerous States. Over the past decade and at the outset of the present one, the region has been exposed to grave security and environmental dangers, from the eruption of the Iran-Iraq war to the tragedy of the Iraqi occupation of the sister State of Kuwait. Thanks to God and to the solidarity of the international community, we have been able to overcome these tribulations.

However, the remnants of regional disputes and residues of traditional hatreds have the ability to contribute to the instability of the region. Hence, we, in the Sultanate of Oman, proceeding from our keen interest in encouraging the factors of stability in the region, and seeking the security to which we all aspire, feel that it is high time efforts of all States in the region, without exception, were devoted to prepare for a new phase of understanding and fraternity. This will be achieved only through a sincere examination and analysis of what has happened and sincere efforts to overcome the effects of the past and heal its many wounds.

At the beginning of this month, the United Arab Emirates announced that efforts they had exerted vis-à-vis the Islamic Republic of Iran this year have failed. The aim was to achieve an amicable understanding regarding Oman's

(Mr. Abdulla, Oman)

sovereign rights over three islands in the Gulf: Abu Moussa, Greater Tanb and Smaller Tanb. The Sultanate of Oman is gravely concerned over the prospects of negative developments in this situation.

Proceeding from our belief in the principles of the Charter of the United Nations regarding the respect for sovereignty of States, non-interference in the internal affairs of others and peaceful settlement of disputes, we have confirmed the rights of the United Arab Emirates in this regard, as did the other Arab States and now call upon the Islamic Republic of Iran, with whom we have friendly ties and mutual interests, to settle this dispute by peaceful means in a manner that would guarantee the rights and common interests of the States in the Gulf Cooperation Council.

The problem of Palestine has been the major factor underlying the tragedies and wars witnessed by the peoples of the Middle East region. Peace and stability in this important and delicate region cannot be achieved without finding a solution to this problem, which is the crux of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

My country supports the sincere efforts being made to find a lasting, just and peaceful solution, which would take into account the interests of all parties in the region on the basis of Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) and the principle of land-for-peace.

Proceeding from this, my country has participated in the International Peace Conference on the Middle East sponsored by the United States of America and the Russian Federation. My country has also participated in the multilateral negotiations of the Conference and the Working Groups thereof, out of its belief in the importance of supporting direct negotiations, which are the basis and essence of the Conference as a means of contributing to the

(Mr. Abdulla, Oman)

achievement of regional security, cooperation and confidence-building among States in the region and thereby contributing to the safeguarding of the interests of all parties.

The recent developments witnessed by the region, in addition to what has been achieved in the sixth round of the Arab-Israeli talks and the multilateral negotiations held recently in Washington and Moscow, have created circumstances that are more favourable than ever for the achievement of a permanent and just solution that would bring peace to the area. Therefore, we call upon all parties to exert more efforts and show more patience and flexibility in order to achieve the permanent and lasting peace to which the peoples of the region have long aspired.

The Middle East region has witnessed other developments that give rise to satisfaction and optimism. The Government of Lebanon has taken new positive steps to extend its sovereignty over the territory of Lebanon by way of implementing the Taif agreement. In this regard, my country once again reiterates its call for the implementation of Security Council resolution 425 (1978), which calls for the withdrawal of Israel from the Lebanese territories that it occupies.

My country, through its membership in the Gulf Cooperation Council, together with its sisters on the Council, appreciates the outstanding role of the European community in articulating the orientations of the new world order in the context of the significant role played by the Community in preserving stability and security and promoting development in the world.

The two groups, the GCC and the EEC have stressed the need to promote the peace process in the Middle East, have called upon the international community to help alleviate the suffering of the Arabs in the occupied territories and

(Mr. Abdulla, Oman)

have shown readiness to participate in the reconstruction of Lebanon and reactivate the Arab-European dialogue in recognition of the close links between the security of the Middle East and the security of Europe.

After a protracted bitter struggle, the Afghan people, with God's help, has managed to assume control over its country. The Sultanate of Oman did recognize the Government of the Mujahideen, and has welcomed the assumption by the Mujahideen Council to power in Afghanistan. My country is confident that the new Government in Afghanistan will cope with the new challenges which face it judiciously and competently. We hope that the international community will hasten to assist the new Afghan Government to heal the wounds and to close the book on the past in order to build a future of security, stability and prosperity for Afghanistan.

The hotbeds of conflict and the regional and domestic disputes based on race and narrow political outlooks still plague some States and impose an additional burden on the international Organization. Examples of this is what is happening in the sister State of Somalia and in the former Yugoslavia. These racial conflicts and disputes have led to the emergence of a large number of displaced persons who are subjected to the worst kinds of starvation and displacement. While we commend the role of the United Nations in alleviating the suffering of these peoples, whether in Somalia or in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, we note that that role has been limited to dealing with these problems from a purely humanitarian point of view.

(Mr. Abdulla, Oman)

If the United Nations role remains within those limits, such situations will persist.

Dealing with such tragedies, in our view, requires a much wider role, more efforts and a drive to force the warring political factions in Somalia to move towards reconciliation.

We look forward to a more comprehensive and effective role that would put an end to the fratricidal hostilities that are the source of these tragedies. Failing this, the people's suffering will continue for a long time and could threaten peace and security.

Positive indicators in connection with the situation in South Africa bode well for finding a solution that would be acceptable to all the parties concerned and that would enable the black majority to participate in government on a democratic basis. In this regard, we emphasize the importance of the United Nations role in bringing closer the views of the parties concerned in South Africa and in helping them to sit at the negotiating table with the aim of finding solutions that may be acceptable to all.

The international community witnessed, at the end of last year, the most important historical event in the international arena since the end of the Second World War, namely the emergence of the republics of the former Soviet Union as sovereign States, which immediately received the official recognition of all countries, including my own. As Oman's policy is to build bridges of friendship with all States of the world, we have recognized those independent States and proffered the hand of friendship and cooperation to them. Those republics have proved that the human spirit is invincible, and today, as they

(Mr. Abdulla, Oman)

take their first steps on a new road, it is incumbent upon the international community to support and assist them in the interests of a new world order based on international stability and security.

Last June, the city of Rio de Janeiro, in Brazil, hosted an unprecedented international gathering that sought to realize a common dream, a common cause that knows no boundaries: that of preserving a sound and sustainable environment in the interests of all mankind. Although they fell short of expectations, the results of the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) have succeeded in endorsing an important principle: that of the commensurate and just participation of States in the protection of the environment and the preservation of the ecosystem.

The adoption by the Conference of a set of the 27 principles concerned with environmentally sound development, in the Rio Declaration, and the signing by more than 150 States of the Conventions on biological diversity and climate change represent a step in the right direction towards the harmonization of development and the environment. My country urges the international community to support and implement the Conventions and decisions of the Conference, especially those which relate to helping the developing countries overcome their environmental problems, by way of consolidating the spirit of world partnership with the purpose of saving the planet.

In the field of disarmament, we commend the agreement between the United States of America and the Russian Federation to reduce their strategic weapons to one third of their present levels. We feel that this agreement should be an incentive to make more determined efforts to free the world of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction and, thereby, achieve the goal of complete and general disarmament, which is indispensable for world peace and security.

(Mr. Abdulla, Oman)

By the same token, the adoption of the global Convention on chemical weapons is a significant step in the right direction.

The United Nations has clearly achieved impressive successes in dealing with questions of peace and security. However, peace is not merely the absence of war, or the simple relaxation of tension between East and West. Peace cannot be achieved in its more comprehensive sense without a multilateral transformation of the world economy. The eradication of poverty, the resolution of problems that stand in the way of progress, such as indebtedness and the deterioration of commodity prices, the reversing of the net flow of resources from the South to the North, and the transfer of technology, should all become part and parcel of the policies aimed at the maintenance of peace assigned to the United Nations.

The new realities of international relations should be the source of inspiration to us to reactivate international cooperation in the field of development. The end of ideological conflicts has increased the importance of this joint responsibility and the need for joint action. Hence the opportunity for us all to work together in laying the foundations of the cooperation and interdependence which we still lack in the fields of development and international economic cooperation.

The polarizations and armed conflicts which used to be the hallmark of past decades had prevented the United Nations from achieving its designated goal: a more secure and peaceful world. However, recent developments have shown how successful the United Nations can be in dealing with and finding solutions to chronic and complex issues if its endeavours enjoy the support of Member States, as is the case, for example, with regard to the Organization's peace-keeping operations. The number of peace-keeping operations undertaken

(Mr. Abdulla, Oman)

by the United Nations over the past four years equals that of all such operations, during the last four decades of the Organization's history. This clearly indicates that whenever genuine political will exists on the part of the parties to any conflict, it becomes possible to find a solution or at least to accelerate the process of finding a solution that may lead to reconciliation.

With renewed optimism, my country shares the hope of the international community that the forty-seventh session of the General Assembly will be able to deal successfully with residual situations involving negative and anachronistic elements that are out of step with the thrust of the new world order, and thus usher in a new phase of cooperation and peaceful coexistence between all the States and peoples of the world.

Mr. HANNIBALSSON (Iceland): I wish to join previous speakers in congratulating Mr. Ganev on his election to the presidency. I am glad to see this important office occupied by a representative of one of Europe's new democracies.

This year 13 new Members are joining our Organization: nine former Soviet republics as well as Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Slovenia and San Marino. Iceland sincerely welcomes them all and looks forward to working with them in this forum in the future.

The present is in many ways a time of remarkable opportunities for the United Nations. The continued improvement of the international situation has over the past year inspired our Organization with a bold new optimism. We now have a realistic chance of breathing new life into the United Nations Charter and working in concert for the betterment of the world we live in. It is a chance none of us can afford to miss.

(Mr. Hannibalsson, Iceland)

Since the last session of the General Assembly important strides have been made towards the establishment of a safer and more predictable international environment. Progress has been substantial in the area of arms control and disarmament. For over 40 years the peoples of the world have been haunted by the spectre of nuclear holocaust. Owing largely to the fundamental changes that have taken place in the former Soviet Union, the role of nuclear weapons is quickly diminishing. The announcement by Presidents Bush and Yeltsin last June of dramatic cuts in the strategic arsenals of their countries was an important milestone in this regard. The draft Convention on chemical weapons, adopted by the Conference on Disarmament earlier this month, represents another major step towards the eventual elimination of all types of weapons of mass destruction.

The deterrence of war, a guiding principle of the cold war, is giving way to a different demand: the preservation of peace. As the emphasis shifts from military to economic and political means of obtaining security - in effect from strategy to diplomacy - the United Nations should also be given increasing scope for action.

Diplomacy is bringing gains in regional disputes that have long been major issues on the United Nations agenda. In the Middle East a historic breakthrough has taken place with the initiation of the peace process started at Madrid. Forty-four years after the establishment of the State of Israel, Israelis and Palestinians are finally sitting at the same table and negotiating their differences. Setbacks notwithstanding, important steps have been taken by the Government of South Africa to abolish the notorious system of apartheid.

(Mr. Hannibalsson, Iceland)

Not least among the positive aspects of recent events is the growing recognition of the legitimate role of the United Nations in upholding collective security. In only four years the total of new United Nations peace-keeping operations has equalled the number of such operations over a period of 40 years previously. Clearly, however, United Nations peace-keeping will be viable only as long as the political will to deploy peace-keeping forces is matched by the resources to sustain them.

A great deal has been achieved, raising hopes for the future of our Organization. But this is not the time for complacency. There are still serious stumbling blocks on the road to genuine peace and security. Overcoming them requires redoubled efforts by the world community and individual States.

Reductions in nuclear arsenals, already agreed, will take years to accomplish. In the meantime, proliferation of dangerous weapons will continue apace, unless measures are taken to combat this menace effectively. Should our combined efforts fail, we may face a paradoxical situation in which the world becomes less dependent on nuclear weapons but at the same time more unstable and more militarized.

Furthermore, violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms are still taking place on a large scale. The United Nations has been successful in the progressive development and codification of human rights. But setting standards is not enough. We must also ensure that they are respected. It is in that spirit that Iceland looks forward to next year's World Conference on Human Rights. We sincerely hope that the final outcome of the Conference will be a stepping stone towards a more effective implementation of human-rights standards all round the world.

(Mr. Hannibalsson, Iceland)

While the ice cap of the cold war has melted, national and ethnic rivalries have been rekindled, creating new dangers of regional instability. Ominous seeds of future intolerance and violence may have been sown through the appalling human-rights abuses and outright atrocities committed in some of the States of the former Yugoslavia. In a brutal conflict like the one we are witnessing in Bosnia and Herzegovina there are always shades of grey between black and white. No single party can be assigned sole responsibility. However, the territorial gains made by one of the parties, its overwhelming military superiority and the ethnic origin and number of refugees are uncontested facts which eloquently speak for themselves.

All efforts unilaterally to change internationally recognized boundaries must be unreservedly condemned, as must the barbarous practice of "ethnic cleansing". At the same time, all parties to the conflict must be brought to realize that a solution can be found only through peaceful means - and not on the battlefield. The relevant measures of the Security Council, including sanctions imposed on the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, must be scrupulously adhered to. In this context, Iceland welcomes the results of the recent London Conference and looks forward to its follow-up in Geneva.

Tragic circumstances in the former Yugoslavia must not, however, be allowed to divert our attention from the deplorable situation which currently prevails in war-torn and famine-stricken Somalia. A quarter of Somali children have already died from malnutrition and disease this year, and a million more are similarly at risk in the coming months. Effective international coordination of relief efforts, including improved coordination between all relevant United Nations bodies, is the key to any

(Mr. Hannibalsson, Iceland)

improvement of the situation. Moreover, we must draw proper lessons from this unfortunate and disastrous experience and spare no effort to ensure that our Organization can respond in a timely and more effective manner to catastrophes like the one in Somalia.

Returning to Europe, we find that parts of the legacy of the last 40 years have not yet been successfully eradicated. Last year we welcomed the three Baltic States, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, as sovereign Members of the United Nations. The continued stationing of foreign troops on the soil of those countries - without their consent and in the absence of a firm timetable for withdrawal - remains, however, a source of serious concern. At their meeting in Bornholm last month the Prime Ministers of the five Nordic countries emphasized that the earliest possible withdrawal of foreign military forces from the three Baltic States would contribute to the stability of the region as a whole. Iceland welcomes the recent accord on a troop pull-out from Lithuania by August next year, and hopes that the agreement will herald an orderly, complete and unconditional withdrawal of foreign troops from all three Baltic States.

Such anachronisms notwithstanding, the passing of the cold war has, on the whole, created new openings in the areas of economic, social and environmental cooperation. This applies not least in the area of trade. At a time when the virtues of free trade are extolled by East and West alike and the importance of having a clear and predictable framework for world trade is greater than ever, it is paradoxical that the Uruguay Round, launched more than six years ago, should be running two years behind schedule and even be in danger of imminent collapse. At stake are billions of dollars worth of world trade, as well as countless new job

(Mr. Hannibalsson, Iceland)

opportunities. We cannot afford to give up. Surrender would stall growth in the industrialized countries and slow down the integration of the developing countries and the countries of Central and Eastern Europe into the world trade system. We have to introduce the principles of free trade that have served us so well in industry into hitherto protected sectors, such as agriculture and fisheries.

It would, of course, hardly be realistic to expect all 108 participants in the Uruguay Round to be equally satisfied with the results. The essential point, however, is that a general agreement that all can live with is now within reach. As the Director-General of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), Mr. Dunkel, recently pointed out,

> "the Uruguay Round is a single undertaking. The results are to be seen in an overall, integrated package. There is no pick and choose".

A reasonably satisfactory groundwork has been laid for the years ahead.

(Mr. Hannibalsson, Iceland)

The future stability of world trade now hinges on two of the main players, the European Community and the United States. If they can reach agreement, the Uruguay Round will soon be concluded. If they do not, there are turbulent, even chaotic times ahead. Both players must shoulder their responsibilities towards the rest of the world. The issues that remain unresolved are not of a nature to justify yet another postponement, which would in fact mean the end of the Uruguay Round.

We cannot afford to let the Uruguay Round founder on the unjustified claims of a rural minority for protection and subsidies. The contribution of agriculture to gross domestic product has dropped drastically in the developed world, but support for and protection of agriculture has increased. Free-trade forces in manufacturing and services are more advanced than they are in agriculture, and it is noteworthy that in recent years subsidies to manufacturing in the developed world have declined.

Among the most important commitments embodied in the United Nations Charter is the determination of our countries to promote social progress and better standards of living in conditions of greater freedom. But over the last 10 years social conditions in a number of countries have actually declined. More than 1 billion people live in absolute poverty. What is needed is for all nations represented in the Assembly to rise above their disagreements and act together to relieve the plight of those living under conditions of abject misery. Iceland supports, therefore, the proposal to convene a world summit for social development in 1995.

This year marks the end of the United Nations Decade of Disabled Persons. The implementation of the objectives of the World Programme of Action has, when all is said and done, been disappointing. We must respect

(Mr. Hannibalsson, Iceland)

our pledges to the world's half billion persons with disabilities and recommit ourselves to the objective of creating equal opportunities for all people.

In the past few years we have become increasingly aware of the interrelationship between the state of the environment and advances in human rights and social development. As was already noted by that distinguished representative of the best tradition of European humanism, Willy Brandt, 12 years ago:

> "It can no longer be argued that protection of the environment is an obstacle to development. On the contrary, the care of the natural environment is an essential aspect of development".

The success of efforts to deal with global environmental problems and a long-term strategy to achieve sustainable development will depend in large part on how we manage population growth. At the present growth rate the human race is likely to double in less than half a century. Obviously, all nations, rich and poor alike, owe it to succeeding generations to cooperate in achieving a major revision of social policies in the field of population control.

The United Nations Conference on Environment and Development in Rio de Janeiro was a landmark event, as was evidenced by the wide participation in the Conference. Its achievements provide a sound basis for further work. In order to safeguard our planet from otherwise-inevitable ecological disaster, we must agree on targets and measures that will lead us towards sustainable development.

During the past year there have been no indications that the state of the global environment is improving or that we have managed to turn the tide. On the contrary, findings earlier this year which show a further depletion of ozone in the stratosphere are of great concern. Recent disclosures of massive

(Mr. Hannibalsson, Iceland)

discharges of radioactive waste and other hazardous materials into the Barents and Kara Seas from the former Soviet Union could also be an indication of an ecological time bomb. These and many similar dangers have made the Earth appear smaller than ever before and demonstrate the need for enhanced international cooperation and stronger national commitment to environmental protection.

Turning to the follow-up to the Rio Conference, Iceland considers the prevention of marine pollution, as well as efforts to ensure sustainable utilization of all marine living resources, to be of fundamental importance. The oceans are not only a crucial part of the respiratory system of our planet but also an indispensable source of food for mankind. The requirements of basic human subsistence make it imperative that the living resources of the sea remain available for human consumption. Moreover, marine resources could become one of the most important assets of developing countries as they strive for sustainable development. Iceland therefore particularly welcomes the unanimous decision taken at the Rio Conference to convene an international conference to address the prevention of marine pollution from land-based sources.

As pollution endangers our natural environment, so there are other noxious influences which threaten to corrupt our societies from within. Drug abuse is a global problem which threatens the security and stability of many countries and is a serious social problem in most countries of the world. The drug problem is a multi-faceted one. We must continue to fight, with real solutions which touch on all its facets, including ways to diminish demand, production and trafficking. Drug-trafficking is increasingly an organized crime, victimizing mainly our youth. More effective leadership, based on a

(Mr. Hannibalsson, Iceland)

more definite mandate from the United Nations International Drug Control Programme, is clearly called for.

In my opening words, I referred to a time of remarkable opportunities for the United Nations. Before concluding, I feel it is appropriate to return to those unique circumstances in the context of the tasks and challenges ahead.

Now more than ever, the United Nations has the potential to become a more credible and effective world Organization for the benefit of all humankind. But the moment must be seized. There is a need to revamp the United Nations from within, to consolidate the Organization politically and concentrate on more effective management. This is necessary, not least in order for the Organization to regain and maintain the trust of its Member States. Furthermore, we must adapt the United Nations to the new demands posed by the growing number of Member States, the radical changes on the intemational scene and the growing interdependence of States since the Second World War.

The Secretary General's recent report entitled "An Agenda for Peace" points the way. Let us be mindful of his observation that States Members of the United Nations are fortunate in having been given a second chance to create the world envisioned in the Charter, a chance denied - with painful consequences - the members of the League of Nations.

ADDRESS BY MR. OBED DLAMINI, PRIME MINISTER OF THE KINGDOM OF SWAZILAND

The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now hear an address by the Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Swaziland.

Mr. Obed Dlamini, Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Swaziland, was escorted to the rostrum.

The PRESIDENT: I have great pleasure in welcoming the Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Swaziland, Mr. Obed Dlamini, and inviting him to address the General Assembly.

Mr. DLAMINI (Swaziland): May I begin, on behalf of His Majesty King Mswati III, Her Majesty the Indlovukazi - the Queen Mother - and the whole Swazi nation, by conveying to you all the greetings and good wishes of the Kingdom of Swaziland.

I offer my country's sincerest congratulations to Mr. Ganev on his well-deserved election to the presidency of the United Nations General Assembly at this forty-seventh session. We are most confident in his ability to guide deliberations in this distinguished gathering towards successful conclusions.

Allow me also to express Swaziland's gratitude to his predecessor, Ambassador Samir Shihabi of Saudi Arabia, for his extremely effective leadership as President at the forty-sixth session, during which much valuable work was conducted.

Our thanks and admiration are also due to the members of the Bureau, whose role in the day-to-day activities is central to the success of the Assembly.

I should also like to take this opportunity to express Swaziland's appreciation of the outstanding service given this Organization by the former Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, whose diplomatic experience

(Mr. Dlamini, Swaziland)

and dynamic leadership contributed so much to the re-emergence of the United Nations as the only international institution with the influence to improve social, economic and political standards throughout the world.

Our contratulation, too, go to his successor, our new Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, who has already shown the experience, diplomacy and wisdom necessary to make a success of this most important and challenging post.

We wish him strength through God's held and blessing as he continues to lead us in these difficult times.

This year has seen the admission of new Member States, once again demonstrating the principle of extending the advantages of membership to all who desire to embrace our founding Charter. We welcome our new Members, and we are confident that their presence will contribute substantially towards this new age of international understanding and cooperation, as we strive to attain universal harmony.

Many obstacles remain in the way of true international peace and stability but, as has been shown in the past, with the release of East-West tension and the subsequent removal of the atmosphere of fear and mistrust which had so clouded past deliberations, this forum remains our one hope in our search for acceptable solutions to the many challenges that confront us.

Although the Kingdom of Swaziland remains, thankfully, peaceful and stable, it is a fact that, in these times of global interdependence, we are subject to, and affected by, the pressures or events occurring outside our borders; not just in our own subregion but also by the tragedies and crises occurring throughout the world.

The role of the United Nations as the most powerful and influential body for immediate humanitarian aid, and as the most acceptable international

(Mr. Dlamini, Swaziland)

broker for peace, continues to stretch our collective resources to the utmost. The priorities for our efforts become ever harder to define, as the incidence of disaster and conflict, with their corresponding calls on our resources, appear to increase.

We in Swaziland accept our responsibility, through our membership of the United Nations, to lend our support wherever the call for humanitarian aid, and assistance to end the bloodshed of a conflict, is made, regardless of our direct or indirect involvement in those situations.

Our regular and prompt payment of dues testifies to our commitment to this policy, and we are proud of our record.

The various unresolved conflicts on our own continent are, of course, of primary consideration to us, and of immediate concern is the situation affecting our neighbour, South Africa.

We have watched as the momentous changes of the last two years have brought the inevitable ebb and flow of hope and despair. We have been constant in our support of a peaceful process, through negotiation, towards the establishment of a new South Africa whose guiding principles would be acceptable to all partners, and we have been reassured by the words and actions of the United Nations in its acceptance of that goal.

We have suffered along with the victims, many of Swazi origin, of the terrible violence that continues to plague the peace process; and we welcomed the initiative of the United Nations in dispatching a team of observers, under the capable leadership of the distinguished Special Envoy, Mr. Virendra Dayal, to assess the violence in the townships. We are confident that they will successfully bring to bear their collective expertise and experience in helping to resolve this most distressing problem.

(Mr. Dlamini, Swaziland)

Swaziland now urges all political leaders in South Africa to put aside their differences and to return to the negotiating table in a spirit of compromise and conciliation - for the sake of their country and for the future of their children.

We in southern Africa can only pray that there will be an early, peaceful conclusion of the process, so that we too can benefit from the advantages that closer social and economic links with a new South Africa will inevitably bring us and the other countries of the subregion.

(Mr. Dlamini, Swaziland)

The situation within the borders of our other neighbour, Mozambique, offers at last some ray of hope for an early resolution, and our support for the processes of peace there seem finally to have been rewarded. Swaziland wishes to express its deepest admiration and praise for all those involved in the peace negotiations between FRELIMO and RENAMO, which resulted in the momentous accord signed in Rome last month. In particular, the efforts of the Governments of Italy, Portugal and the United States, and the individual contribution of His Excellency President Robert Mugabe, deserve our applause.

But without the commitment of both sides of the dispute to peaceful settlement, the assistance and advice of these international friends would have been worthless. We salute the initiatives of both parties and entreat them to carry through the undertakings of the accord without further bloodshed and with a determination to regain the peace which has so long been denied the Mozambican people.

The crisis in Mozambique has a great and direct bearing on our own situation. At least 80,000 Mozambican refugees currently enjoy Swazi hospitality - at continuing great expense to our national economy - in the form of resources in land, finance, employment opportunities and other social services. We, and indeed the refugees themselves, look forward to the resumption of a secure and peaceful atmosphere in Mozambique so that repatriation can reasonably take place and thus relieve the pressure of the substantial burden that is being carried by us.

(Mr. Dlamini, Swaziland)

Just as we continue to rely on the efforts of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and other humanitarian agencies for help in coping with these unfortunate victims, so we shall be looking for assistance when the time comes for them to return home. We are confident that we, and the refugees, deserve such aid.

Swaziland welcomed the end of hostilities in Angola, and we would like to express our appreciation to those whose efforts brought the crisis to an end. We now join the rest of the international community in praying for a successful election process so that all Angolans will be able to reap the benefits of peace.

The horrifying situation in Somalia continues to give us cause for grave concern. The almost unbelievable proportions of the disastrous effects of famine and the continuing interfactional fighting beg action on an international scale. We fully support all United Nations efforts to bring relief to the starving, suffering millions. Words mean little in such circumstances, but the people of Somalia should know that our prayers are with them; with God's blessing and with positive assistance from us, they will pull through this dark episode in their country's history.

The situations in Chad, the Sudan and Liberia also give little cause for hope for early solutions. Again, we pledge our full support to all efforts to bring about peaceful and lasting solutions to these problems which affect the stability of our continent.

In Europe, too, the ravages and upheaval of war and social change have had their devastating effect. The situation in former Yugoslavia in particular gives immediate cause for concern, with the ongoing war in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the crises of uncertainty in the other newly-independent

(Mr. Dlamini, Swaziland)

States. The efforts of the United Nations and the European Community to bring about peace are to be applauded and they deserve our fullest support. We pray that sense will prevail amongst the leaders of different factions and that use will be made of the negotiating table in bringing about an early end to the horrific bloodshed in this unfortunate corner of Europe.

We applaud the work of the United Nations Special Envoy, Mr. Cyrus Vance, and that of the European representative, Lord Owen, in their extremely difficult task as intermediaries. The performance of the multinational monitoring force, operating under the most frustrating and challenging conditions, is also in the best United Nations traditions and deserves our admiration and praise.

Swaziland has been watching with great interest, and not a little optimism, the developments over the last year in the Middle East. The disputes and conflicts in this important area have for too long been the cause of international concern, and we welcome all efforts to bring about an atmosphere in which all parties can resolve their differences. The Government of the United States of America, in particular, deserves mention in its determination to get the Middle East peace initiative up and running. Moreover, the latest conciliative remarks by His Excellency, the new Israeli Prime Minister, with the correspondingly constructive responses from the affected countries, give cause for encouragement that our prayers for positive steps towards the achievement of lasting peace in the whole region may at last be answered. Much, of course, remains to be done, but we can only support and encourage all initiatives towards the achievement of this aim.

(Mr. Dlamini, Swaziland)

Swaziland is distressed to hear of the latest disasters which have afflicted some areas of Pakistan, Bangladesh, the Philippines, the United States of America and other countries in different parts of the world. The disasters which have caused so many thousands of deaths and destroyed the homes of millions constitute a crisis of unprecedented proportions. We join others in the international community in pledging our moral support for immediate substantial aid to relieve the suffering and to help rebuild the shattered economies of these areas.

Swaziland joined the rest of the United Nations last year in welcoming the two Koreas as Members of our Organization. The resolution of the crisis between these two countries has been on our agenda for a long time, and Swaziland welcomes and supports any initiative to bring about an atmosphere of conciliation and peace between them.

We call on the people of Afghanistan to use the present opportunity for peace to bury any divisive differences between them and to move on with the task of national reconciliation and economic development so that all may enjoy the hard-won fruits of peace.

In Cambodia, we have welcomed the efforts of our sizeable United Nations presence in assisting with the consolidation of positive trends towards peace and stability. We look forward to having a unified Cambodia add its influential support in the restoration of peace throughout the region of Indo-China.

In these and other conflicts around the world, the United Nations has distinguished itself in trying to act as brokers for peace and as the provider of humanitarian aid. This has been achieved, often in the most hazardous and difficult circumstances, but with an increasing rate of success and with the noblest intentions of creating a safer, more stable world. To that end, the

(Mr. Dlamini, Swaziland)

initiatives towards limiting proliferation of weapons of mass destruction are of paramount importance in our efforts to bring about true international peace and harmony, and Swaziland gives these efforts its fullest support.

The pressing issue of the environment was important enough to attract all members of the United Nations family to the Earth summit in Brazil earlier this year.

(Mr. Dlamini, Swaziland)

The commitment shown there by all participants, and ratified by a number of far-reaching treaties, to address the multiple problems posed by man's thoughtlessness and ignorance was fully justified and was a timely reminder of how much irreparable damage we have already caused. For us in Swaziland, the Summit served as a catalyst in our efforts to become more aware of our environmental responsibilities, and we are now taking those responsibilities very seriously indeed. In fact, no greater reminder of our own reliance on our natural resources was needed, as we found ourselves in the middle of the worst drought on record.

It is ironic that, as we strive as a nation to develop along the right paths and as our economic base becomes more and more dependent on increasingly sophisticated industrial development, it takes the failure of a basic natural resource to make us realize how complete our reliance still is on the basic gifts of nature and how carefully we must nurture our country's precious resources to ensure that future generations inherit a fruitful and productive land.

We are indebted to the United Nations for its prompt response in convening the successful pledging conference in Geneva in June to benefit those who have been hardest hit by the drought, and our gratitude is also due those in the international community that responded so generously.

But a short-term response is not enough. We in the region have recognized that our emphasis must now be on ensuring that we are adequately prepared for any such natural disaster in the future. We shall be looking to the Organization for advice and assistance so that our people may never again suffer as they have this past season.

(Mr. Dlamini, Swaziland)

One principle to which Swaziland is attaching increasing importance is the linkage of our nation's development, both social and economic, to a dependence on closer cooperation with our regional partners. Social development is inextricably linked to economic performance, and the eradication of many of our national social problems, such as poverty, unemployment, crime and the like, depends on improvement in our economic situation.

Our membership in such regional organizations as the Preferential Trade Area Authority and the Southern African Development Coordination Conference and the Treaty signed recently at the Organization of African Unity (OAU) summit in Abuja, establishing the African Economic Community, point out our strong commitment to improving our economic performance through closer economic and trade cooperation with the rest of our continent. Those organizations and initiatives are serious attempts by Africans, for the benefit of Africa, to pull themselves out of the economic and social quagmire of recent years. We deserve and expect the support, encouragement and positive assistance of the international community if we are to make a success of it and thereby reduce future dependence on the developed world.

Africa is disturbed to see much-needed developmental funds being diverted to other targets, and while Swaziland, for one, is making every effort to prepare itself to stand on its own, our country and others in our subregion are still in desperate need of continuing assistance in many areas, precisely so that we shall be able to establish the mechanisms and organizations that will allow Africa to be self-sufficient in the future.

Swaziland hopes and prays that Africa will not be neglected now at a time when assistance is most needed. That fact has been driven forcefully home to

(Mr. Dlamini, Swaziland)

us with the production of the latest World Economic Survey, which, as is inevitable in the midst of an international economic recession, has once more painted a miserable picture for developing countries. For Africa, in particular, the litany of depressing economic news makes for distressing reading.

One area of particular concern to us as we strive to become less dependent on the developed world is the widening gap between North and South, between the primary-commodity producers and the manufacturers of finished products, a situation exacerbated by the protectionist trade policies employed by some and by the inability to bring to a successful conclusion, so far, the Uruguay Round of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

Those are some of the areas which inhibit the release of the developing world from the chains of dependence on the developed countries. We appeal to all to address these problems in the only way that will produce results: in the spirit of true international brotherhood within this family of nations.

Our Organization has much to be proud of and much still left to do. The United Nations remains the only truly global forum in which the world's problems can be discussed and from which the collective experience and expertise of all our Member nations can be pooled to find solutions. Swaziland is proud to count itself one among this illustrious company and, on behalf of His Majesty King Mswati III, Her Majesty the Indlovukazi and the whole Swazi nation, I have the honour of once more reaffirming my Kingdom's commitment to the guiding principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations.

May almighty God watch over the deliberations of the Assembly and reward it with the success it deserves.

The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Swaziland for the statement he has just made.

Mr. Obed Dlamini, Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Swaziland, was escorted from the rostrum.

Mr. POOS (Luxembourg) (interpretation from French): At the outset I should like to convey to the President of the General Assembly my heartiest congratulations on his unanimous election. He is one of the principal architects of the advent of democracy and profound change in Bulgaria. I am certain he will guide with skill and efficacy the work of the General Assembly, which I hope will carry on resolutely in the reform of its programme and its working methods.

To our new Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, I should like to express the great pleasure of the Government and people of Luxembourg on his election to head our Organization. The decisions he has taken and the proposals he has put forward since the beginning of the year make it fitting for me to pay tribute to him for his lucidity, courage and resolve to make of the United Nations an organization that is capable of answering the challenges of our time.

(Mr. Poos, Luxembourg)

I welcome the representatives of the 13 new countries that have joined the United Nations since the beginning of this year, bringing the number of Members to 179.

Last Tuesday my colleague Douglas Hurd put forward the positions of the twelve member States of the European Community concerning the major problems that confront the international community at present. Clearly, I subscribe to everything that was said by the representative of the State which occupies the presidency of the Council of Ministers of the European Community, so I shall limit myself to stressing several issues that are of particular concern to the Government and people of Luxembourg.

Two tragedies giving rise to the utmost concern are occurring at present. I refer to the famine in certain parts of Africa and to the civil war in Yugoslavia. Both of these show once again that the international community's right to humanitarian interference in regional conflicts can no longer be called into question.

The famine in Africa threatens the lives of an extraordinarily large number of human beings, and it must immediately be at the focus of our attention. We are confronted, on one hand, by an overwhelming drought, that has afflicted all of eastern and southern Africa and, on the other hand, by the lack of organization in the production and distribution of foodstuffs,that has resulted from civil wars.

In the Sudan and in Somalia, the European Community has continued, over the last few months, to intervene with the parties involved to ensure that those parties will allow and guarantee the distribution of international food aid. It is indeed outrageous that a government or armed factions should interfere with this operation. I am glad that our Organization has sent

(Mr. Poos, Luxembourg)

military forces to Somalia to guarantee food distribution. My country is contributing to all these efforts by providing financial assistance which, per capita, is among the greatest in the world. We believe that the United Nations should consider what measures it might undertake to ensure that famine is no longer used as a weapon in the civil war raging in the Sudan.

The continuing tragedy in Yugoslavia is of the most profound concern to the people of my country. Unfortunately we are witnessing a resurgence of most of the criminal practices of nazism, including even the horrendous "ethnic purification" applied to persons from a different sociological group. The problems raised by the presence of minority populations in the republics of the former Yugoslavia cannot be resolved by military intervention; they can be resolved only through negotiated arrangements modelled on those proposed in November 1991 by the European Community.

I make a solemn appeal to all the peoples of the former Yugoslavia to support energetically the efforts of those leaders who wish, fully, unreservedly and without any hidden agenda, to implement the measures defined at the London Conference on 26 and 27 August. Only in that way can peace and prosperity be re-established. Only on that basis can an equitable solution be found to the problem of nationalities or minorities - the problem that gave rise to this conflict, just as it was at the basis of the bloodshed which, unfortunately, continues in certain areas of the former Soviet Union.

With regard to this extremely complex problem, I should like to make some further observations. As the representative of a small country that owes its existence to the principle of self-determination, I am clearly not in a good position to deny this right to other peoples. However, I must make the point that, where several types of population are closely linked, the application of

(Mr. Poos, Luxembourg)

this principle is not sufficient to resolve the problem of nationalities As we have seen, it can serve as a pretext for attempts at conquest and at the annexation of territory, as well as at the forcible expulsion of minority populations, and even the extermination of such peoples.

The solution to the problem of minorities can be based only on the following principles: rejection of the idea that frontiers can be changed by force; the granting to national minorities of special status ensuring respect for their ethnic, cultural, linguistic and religious identities; the adoption of arrangements for cross-border cooperation to enable these minorities to maintain close contact with their compatriots in neighbouring countries. In this respect, it seems to us that Italy's solution for the Haut Adige/South Tyrol is exemplary.

The establishment, by the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, of the machinery of rapporteurs for human rights, as well as the post of commissioner for minorities, should make possible the early identification of potential nationality conflicts and the search for means of prevention.

It seems to me that the world conference on human rights to be held next year in Vienna could provide the appropriate framework for an attempt to define certain fundamental rights of minorities and, if possible, to codify them in a new legal instrument. If it were possible, in addition, to establish machinery for an independent forum to verify, at the request of a wide group of people, respect for these minimum rights through the legislation of a given country, that would help to avoid armed conflicts in the future.

In the last analysis, the problem of minorities can be resolved only if all peoples living in a territory can be made to feel that they belong to one

(Mr. Poos, Luxembourg)

family so that they put emphasis on that which unites them rather than on that which divides them. It was united action rather than division that enabled the European Community to secure a new instrument - the Maastricht Treaty - for the purpose of pursuing their policy of integration, but with respect for national identities. In this regard, I should like to welcome the decisive step that the people of France took by saying "Yes" to the Maastricht Treaty, which my country ratified two months ago.

Luxembourg has always been in the vanguard of European integration. From experience it knows that the key to its wellbeing and its security lie in the Community and that only together with its partners can it exercise its sovereignty fully.

With regard to the problems of the Middle East, we are very gratified at the more conciliatory spirit motivating the new Government of Israel, at the gestures that have already been made by that Government, and at the willingness expressed by the Syrian authorities to conclude a peace agreement. It must be understood, of course, that negotiations for the establishment of an interim regime in the occupied territories can in no case come up with a result short of the Camp David Accords.

With regard to Iraq, we continue to demand that the existing regime implement all Security Council resolutions as rapidly as possible. The Iraqi Government bears full responsibility for the deterioration of the humanitarian situation - in particular, because it has not yet implemented resolutions 706 (1991) and 712 (1991). Iraq must cease all military action and all other repressive measures against the civilian population.

(Mr. Poos, Luxembourg)

In South Africa, the halt of the work of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA) has been most disappointing for my Government. Together with our European partners, we call on all the parties concerned to resume it as soon as possible in a constructive spirit. The problem of violence can be solved only if the police show restraint and if all political movements give categorical instructions to their members definitively to renounce the use of force. I congratulate the Security Council on its resolution 772 (1992) of 17 August, which allowed for the sending to South Africa of a number - limited, it is true - of United Nations observers to examine ways to strengthen the machinery for the transition towards a non-racial democracy.

I must obviously express our views concerning the work now going on within the United Nations.

First, I should like to express to our Secretary-General my full appreciation of his excellent report entitled "An Agenda for Peace" (A/47/277), which he presented at the beginning of the summer. It contains important proposals on preventive diplomacy, peacemaking and peace-keeping. The new international political situation is favourable for stronger United Nations action, which I hope to see, particularly in the following three areas.

The first is preventive diplomacy, which would assist us in anticipating and avoiding the outbreak of new conflicts. Would it not help the proper management of international affairs to ensure more active and systematic use of the various means for such diplomacy? The Secretary-General has a crucial role to play in this respect. We could also make better use of the potential of the International Court of Justice to resolve disputes between States.

(Mr. Poos, Luxembourg)

The second area is that of the make-up and functioning of a genuine system of collective security. The United Nations must be in a position when necessary to act very quickly, especially in cases of aggression or threats of aggression by one country towards another. To do this it must have available at very short notice the necessary human and material resources. Certain countries - I mention in passing, France and the United States - have already responded very positively to the invitation in this regard by our Secretary-General.

The third area is that of the means for establishing peace. Unfortunately, all too often the diplomatic action of our Organization, sometimes in cooperation with regional organizations, such as the European Community, is not followed up. Too many cease-fires have been broken recently, too many embargoes on the delivery of weapons have been violated, for us to remain indifferent to such flouting of international law.

Never before has the United Nations made so many tangible contributions to the cause of peace and reconciliation throughout the world. Nothing emphasizes the new credibility and effectiveness of our Organization more than the dramatic increase in its peace-keeping operations in recent years. Thirteen such operations were carried out before 1987. Thirteen have been launched since 1987. The United Nations is now ensuring the implementation of peace agreements in El Salvador, Angola and Cambodia. It is contributing to calming the serious conflicts in Somalia and Yugoslavia. At present in Cambodia and Yugoslavia the United Nations is carrying out two of the most important operations in its history, involving a total of more than 40,000 personnel, both military and civilian.

(Mr. Poos, Luxembourg)

The growing diversity of the tasks entrusted to our Organization highlights its ability to adapt to different situations. Today the United Nations is disarming adversaries and gathering and destroying weapons; reforming governmental institutions which are not up to their tasks; repatriating refugees; clearing mines; monitoring elections and respect for peace agreements and human rights agreements; and providing humanitarian assistance and aid to refugees.

It is an honour for my Government to be able to contribute to the United Nations Protection Force in Yugoslavia, admittedly modest in absolute numbers, but nevertheless representing 10 per cent of my country's army.

The cost of peace-keeping operations has considerably increased, and their importance demands that there be not the slightest delay in payment. The United Nations must be in a position to prepare, launch and carry out such operations on a sound financial basis. The establishment of a revolving reserve fund would substantially strengthen that basis. Meanwhile, all countries must agree to meet their financial obligations without delay.

At its last session our Assembly adopted a resolution (resolution 46/36 L) concerning the establishment by the United Nations of a universal and non-discriminatory Register of Conventional Arms. Luxembourg hopes that during this session the technical procedures required can be determined and that the Register will become operational by the beginning of next year. The United Nations will thus be making an important contribution to the necessary global transparency in arms transfers and to the vast disarmament movement, which must continue.

(Mr. Poos, Luxembourg)

I welcome the agreement reached last June between President Bush and President Yeltsin concerning a drastic new reduction in strategic nuclear arsenals. The forthcoming conclusion of negotiations concerning a Convention on chemical weapons marks a fundamental step in the international effort to eliminate all weapons of mass destruction. I hope that all members of our Assembly will approve the Convention without reservation and will immediately sign it.

Our Assembly has recorded significant progress on the basis of another initiative of the European Community. This relates to the measures decided on to strengthen United Nations coordination in the area of emergency humanitarian assistance. The creation of the post of Emergency Relief Coordinator, to which Mr. Jan Eliasson was appointed, and the establishment of a central revolving fund of $50 million now enable the United Nations to cope more effectively with humanitarian crises.

Luxembourg welcomes the broad democratization movement developing throughout the world. It involves political changes which are often painful, complex and difficult, but they are necessary in order to build a better future. A growing number of Governments involved in such processes are requesting electoral assistance from the United Nations. Given the particular importance of free and honest elections, I believe the United Nations should continue to strengthen its capacity for acting in this area. I also propose that the United Nations cooperate with other international organizations with experience in this field - in particular, the Council of Europe.

(Mr. Poos, Luxembourg)

My Government believes that the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, held in Rio, was a historic event. It is true that not all our hopes were fulfilled and that many of the decisions taken lack clarity and courage. But who could deny the importance of the preparatory work and the awareness which it brought about? A world-wide process was launched. Major political commitments were made at the highest level.

(Mr. Poos, Luxembourg)

However, the real battle still lies ahead. The convention on climate change and the convention on biological diversity still must be ratified and implemented; above all, they must be finalized and finely honed. The negotiation of a convention on desertification still remains to be dealt with, and international cooperation on the protection of all forests- which is essential - is still undefined.

Agenda 21 opens up a vast field of work in all areas of the environment and development. Progress needs to be made in this respect on the national, regional and international levels, with the participation of all players in society and in particular of non-governmental organizations.

Poor countries must accept the fact that environmental protection is not a luxury; and rich countries must ask themselves if and to what extent their means of production and consumption are compatible with the demands of sustainable development.

The future of the planet cannot be jeopardized by national egoism.

My Government has decided to increase substantially the amount of aid earmarked for humanitarian assistance and development cooperation. It is prepared to work together with all those who are interested in promoting human development; transparent and honest management of public affairs; the participation of all, and above all of women, in the development process; and,in a general sense, respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms.

The tasks before our Organization are numerous and most significant. A major process of transformation and restructuring lies ahead. Three years from now, we shall be marking the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations. Let us hope that by that time we shall have established a revitalized Organization, one that can effectively shoulder the responsibilities that the peoples of the world are so eager to entrust to it.

Mr. MOCUMBI (Mozambique): On behalf of my Government, I should like to congratulate Mr. Ganev upon his unanimous election to preside over the deliberations of the General Assembly at its forty-seventh session. I am confident that his diplomatic skills and statesmanship will bring additional impetus to our work and contribute to the success of our current deliberations.

I should also like to take this opportunity to express our appreciation for the manner in which his predecessor, His Excellency Ambassador Shihabi of Saudi Arabia, stewarded the last session of the General Assembly.

My Government wishes to pay special tribute to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, His Excellency Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, for his commitment and tireless dedication to the ideals of the Organization. Though he has been in office less than one year, he has demonstrated great political ability and diplomatic skills in dealing with a wide range of delicate tasks around the globe. The Secretary-General's superior judgement and his ability to understand better the fragile nature of the emerging problems of today's world have won him high respect, confidence and admiration in the international arena. We pledge to him our continued full support.

May I also avail myself of this opportunity to extend our most fraternal felicitations to the newly admitted Members of the United Nations. Their presence among us today reinforces our common objective to make the United Nations a universal instrument of peace, understanding and cooperation among nations.

The current session of the General Assembly takes place against a backdrop of continued and ever-growing changes in international relations. We are witnessing a new political reality where the super-Powers' confrontation

(Mr. Mocumbi, Mozambique)

and rivalry, in their numerous manifestations, have ceased to threaten our fragile world, a world in which an arms race between two competing blocs is no longer the main concern in the daily life of nations. A new political reality in which the problems resulting from the division of the world into spheres of influence, which had characterized international relations since the birth of this Organization, has now given rise to new hope in the search for conflict resolution.

However, this new political reality brings new challenges. Although the danger of nuclear war has diminished drastically, the gap between rich and poor nations continues to widen. Uncertainty about the future continues to worry many nations and peoples; the proliferation of regional conflicts continues unabated and shows the fragility of the new political landscape. Moreover, the international economic environment remains extremely unfavourable to developing countries. We are still faced with the incommensurable problems of debt burden, deterioration of commodity prices, insufficient flow of financial resources and inadequate transfer of technology. The Uruguay Round negotiations are deadlocked, thus further exacerbating economic uncertainty worldwide.

As a result, today more and more nations see the United Nations as the primary instrument for the promotion of international peace and security and of development and respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. This is illustrated by the growing number of countries that have turned to the United Nations and received assistance in their quest for democratization and their desire to strengthen respect for human rights in their respective territories.

We strongly believe that the end of the cold war and of rivalry and bipolarity should serve as a catalyst for the promotion of international political, economic and social stability.

(Mr. Mocumbi, Mozambique)

The tremendous resources, both human and material, that for over 40 years have been devoted to the purposes of self-destruction can and must now be used for peaceful purposes and economic development. History has proved that it is much easier and less costly to work for peace than it is for war. The problems ahead are still considerable, but they can be tackled and dealt with provided that there is commitment to the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter at the highest political level.

In these endeavours, the United Nations should be entrusted with renewed responsibilities in redirecting the use of available resources, in building confidence and trust among nations and in allocating further resources for peace-keeping, peacemaking and peace-building.

It is high time for the international community to redouble its joint efforts in order to tackle with determination existing long-term problems and make the world safer for all.

(Mr. Mocumbi, Mozambique)

We live in a world full of diversity but also of similarity among peoples. While in the North man has made significant progress in mastering seemingly intractable natural phenomena and advanced sciences, such as genetic engineering, biochemistry and physics, in the South man still remains the victim of illiteracy and backwardness and depends on the will of mother nature. There are further examples which reveal our common identity as human beings - the inability to control our instincts and to manage and exercise power in a responsible manner.

It is within this context that we are assembled here today as representatives of our peoples and nations in order to reflect on how to reverse the events that made it possible to devote more than $20 trillion during the past 30 years to military expenditures, to the detriment of the fundamental concerns of all mankind. In our view the root causes of the enormous problems we face today lie essentially in the utilization of the destructive capacity of man and not in the positive use of his extraordinary creativity.

As has been well documented, we are currently living in a world where more than 1 billion people, or nearly one fifth of the world's population, are estimated to live in poverty. More than half of these people are believed to live below internationally accepted minimum living standards. This state of affairs has made the situation in developing countries, particularly in Africa, even more dramatic.

We hope that the ending of the cold war and the confrontation between conflicting political systems will allow the international community to work together in the search for common solutions to the international problems facing us today.

(Mr. Mocumbi, Mozambique)

We come from southern Africa, a region struggling to build and reaffirm its political, economic and social identity. For many years now the peoples of the region have made tremendous sacrifices and gone through tremendous hardships in order to address the difficult problems facing the region, problems of self-determination, decolonization, destabilization and war. We have made tangible progress in this regard. Nevertheless, much more remains to be done and additional sacrifice will be required.

In this connection my delegation is particularly concerned about the recurrence of violence in South Africa. The recent waves of violence in South Africa, in particular the massacres of innocent civilians in Boipatong last June and in Ciskei early this month, constitute a serious setback to the ongoing efforts aimed at creating a climate conducive to a negotiated settlement.

We trust that with the support of the international community the people of South Africa can find common ground for a solution to the problems originating from the policies of institutionalized racial segregation. My Government welcomes the current efforts aimed at bringing about a resumption of talks leading towards a political settlement of the conflict in that country.

We pay special tribute to the manner in which the international community as a whole, and the United Nations in particular, has promptly responded to the issue of violence in South Africa. We welcome the recent adoption of Security Council resolution 765 (1992). We wish to encourage the Secretary-General to continue to work towards the implementation of that resolution and to help avert the current deadlock in the negotiating process.

(Mr. Mocumbi, Mozambique)

We also urge all peace-loving forces in South Africa to join ranks and work together in order to find a political settlement to the problems that have resulted from nearly 50 years of apartheid, so as to ensure a smooth transition to a democratic, non-racial and united South Africa.

We congratulate the Angolan people on their success in maintaining the cease-fire and in creating conditions for the holding of the first multiparty elections. It is our hope that the international community will continue to assist Angola and ensure that the elections on 29 and 30 September are held in a climate of tranquillity so that the Angolan people can freely choose their representatives.

The southern African region has been stricken by an unprecedented drought with no parallel in living memory. This dramatic situation has already resulted in the destruction of this year's crops and in the devastation of the fauna and flora in large areas of the region. Important rivers have been reduced to almost a trickle of water, or even to large areas of dry sand. As a result about 20 million human lives are seriously affected; the entire region is threatened with the spectre of famine and deprivation. Last June a joint emergency appeal for relief and other emergency assistance was launched by the United Nations and the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC). We seize this occasion to thank the international community for its prompt response to the appeal, without which the human consequences of this natural calamity would have been dramatic today. We reiterate our appeal for increased and urgent assistance in order fully to meet the needs of the joint emergency appeal.

In spite of the number of difficulties facing our peoples in southern Africa, joint efforts are under way with a view to revitalising the economic

(Mr. Mocumbi, Mozambique)

and social fabric of the region. It was within this framework and with the aim of strengthening regional cooperation that we decided to establish the Southern Africa Development Community (SADC). The newly born Community is a result of 12 years of experience of fruitful cooperation within the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference. The new Community bears testimony to the common willingness of the States of the region to have a gradual and balanced economic integration, based on the utilization of regional resources without, however, neglecting necessary external cooperation as a complementary factor in the prosecution of our objectives. We therefore call upon the international community to continue to extend its support in order to help the peoples of the southern African region to address the combined effects of man-made disasters and natural calamities, especially the prolonged drought.

In this respect, the case of Mozambique is particularly grave as war has been ravaging the country for 16 years. The economic cost of this horrendous war, which has claimed hundreds of thousands of lives and resulted in the destruction of property and the economic and social infrastructure, has been estimated to be about $20 billion.

The Assembly will recall that in order to find a political settlement to the conflict in Mozambique, and taking into consideration the highest interests of the nation, direct negotiations between the Government and RENAMO have been under way for two years now under the mediation of the Italian Government, the Santo Egidio Community and the Catholic Church of Mozambique. Since last June the United Nations, France, Portugal, the United Kingdom and the United States of America have been participating as observers in the peace process. We believe their contribution, together with that of other participants in the peace process, has brought new impetus to the process as

(Mr. Mocumbi, Mozambique)

illustrated inter alia by the signing of the Declaration on the guiding principles to facilitate the distribution of humanitarian aid in the country.

The ongoing peace process in Rome has been complemented by other important high-level initiatives at the regional level. These initiatives culminated in the convening of a high-level meeting on 7 August in Rome between His Excellency President Chissano and the RENAMO leader. The high-level meeting resulted in the signing of a Joint Declaration. The document contains the solemn commitment by the Government of Mozambique and RENAMO to work for the completion and approval by 1 October 1992 of all outstanding issues in order to make possible the signing of the general peace agreement and to bring about an immediate cessation of hostilities by that date.

The Joint Declaration outlines general principles and specific guarantees pertaining to the attainment of peace, democracy and national unity based on the overall goal of national reconciliation. It binds both sides to guaranteeing conditions allowing complete political freedom in accordance with internationally recognized democratic principles, as well as personal security for all citizens of Mozambique and all members of political parties.

(Mr. Mocumbi, Mozambique)

The Joint Declaration further stresses the need to honour the principles contained in Protocol No. I, calling upon the Government of Mozambique

"not to act in a way that is contrary to the terms of the Protocols that are established, not to adopt laws or measures and not to apply current laws that may eventually be contrary to these Protocols".

(S/24406, annex, p. 4, para. (iv))

The Declaration also requires that

"RENAMO undertakes not to combat by force of arms after the entry into force of a cease-fire, but to conduct its political struggle observing current laws, within the framework of the existing State institutions, and respecting the conditions and the guarantees laid down in the General Peace Agreement" (ibid.)

The Joint Declaration underlines the role of the international community, in particular the United Nations, in monitoring the implementation of the General Peace Agreement and the cease-fire and the conduct of the electoral process.

My Government has solemnly declared its readiness to abide by the provisions of the Joint Declaration and to work towards peace and tranquillity in our country. Even as I address the General Assembly, the Assembly of the Republic, the parliament of Mozambique, is in session in order to legislate on all the issues pertaining to the implementation of the Declaration.

More recently, on 18 September, the Head of State of Mozambique and the RENAMO leader met once again in Gaborone, Botswana, in order to address the issues on the agenda of the Rome negotiations which caused a deadlock. The meeting reaffirmed 1 October as the deadline for the signing of the General Peace Agreement in Mozambique and an agreed solution was found to those issues.

(Mr. Mocumbi, Mozambique)

Never before in the history of this conflict have peace and conciliation amongst all Mozambicans been so close. We therefore believe that RENAMO must share the historical responsibility in order to respond to the hopes of our people and turn 1 October into a historic landmark in the annals of Mozambican history.

The Government of Mozambique is fully prepared to open a new chapter in our history, a chapter characterized by an atmosphere of tolerance, reconciliation and understanding among all Mozambicans. My Government long ago stated that there was no justification whatsoever for the continuation of war in Mozambique. In this connection, it should be recalled that since the coming into force of the new Constitution, in November 1990, more than 10 political parties have emerged and have been performing freely and peacefully their political activities in Mozambique. We continue to believe that all political forces inside the country should pursue their political objectives through democratically accepted norms of conduct, without resorting to violence.

From this rostrum, I wish to commend the Secretary-General's personal commitment to peace in my country. We are particularly gratified to note that the United Nations stands ready to assist my country in this time of need. We also commend the Secretary-General for his recent initiative to dispatch a technical team of civilian and military experts in order to assess the needs of the country during the implementation of the General Peace Agreement, in particular the monitoring of the cease-fire and electoral process. We look forward to seeing the United Nations further involved in the peace efforts in Mozambique in the days to come.

Following the signing of the General Peace Agreement, the people of Mozambique will need massive international assistance in addressing vital

(Mr. Mocumbi, Mozambique)

issues, such as the implementation and monitoring of the cease-fire, the organization and supervision of the electoral process, demobilization of both armies and the reintegration of former soldiers into civilian life, creation of the new national army, the repatriation and resettlement of refugees from neighbouring countries and assistance to displaced persons.

Most important, however, it will be crucial to assist Mozambique in its national reconstruction efforts and ensure the non-recurrence of violence and destruction in the country. Such assistance will call for the creation, expansion and strengthening of democratic institutions and the maintenance of law and order, so as to deal with the growing challenges facing the nation under conditions of multi-party democracy.

In Rome the Government delegation and RENAMO agreed that in order comprehensively to address the political, economic and social situation in Mozambique the convening of a donor conference immediately after cease-fire appeared to be the most viable way to complement our efforts in the important task ahead of the Mozambican nation. The United Nations and the entire international community are therefore once again called upon to extend their solidarity to the people of Mozambique at this moment, the most critical of its history since national independence.

As for elections, which will take place one year after the signature of the General Peace Agreement, many efforts are being made, and there is a national political will to turn the elections into a real success, as the international community expects. However, because of the difficulties that the electoral process will encounter, we shall appreciate and acknowledge every possible material and financial assistance from the United Nations and the international community, so that the process may be conducted without major bottlenecks and be truly just, free and fair.

(Mr. Mocumbi, Mozambique)

The end of the cold war has offered good new prospects for the strengthening of North-South cooperation. The year 1992 already stands as an important landmark for the United Nations and for the future of multilateralism and international cooperation for development.

In Cartagena de Indias the eighth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) brought about a new partnership for development based on the recognition of sovereign equality, mutual interest and shared responsibilities for the goals of sustained growth of the world economy and the reactivation of development in the developing countries. My delegation welcomes the Conference's decision to redirect UNCTAD activities and to strengthen its mandate in accordance with the demands of the post-cold-war period. We wish to reaffirm our support for the Cartagena Commitment, and in this context we call for the intensification of UNCTAD assistance to the least developed countries.

The Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro constituted a historic and universal gathering which set in motion a long-term process of international cooperation aimed at saving the planet and future generations from environmental destruction. It led to important and unprecedented policy agreements, a broad programme of action and two Conventions. The outcome of the Summit embodies the highest level of political commitment to sustainable development policies and practices calling for the integration of environment and development.

The critical question now is the implementation of the Rio commitments and their effective follow-up and review, especially with regard to Agenda 21. In this connection, my delegation stands ready to participate in

(Mr. Mocumbi, Mozambique)

the forthcoming discussions on the establishment of the commission on sustainable development. In our view, that commission should serve as an effective mechanism at a global level for the follow-up of the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development and for promoting dialogue and common approaches on environment and development matters, while giving adequate attention to the diversity of situations and experiences of Member States and regions of the world. In this regard, it is our firm conviction that the composition of the commission should take into account the principle of equitable geographical distribution and provide for close working links with all agencies of the United Nations system, especially with the United Nations regional commissions and other international development institutions. Bearing in mind the follow-up of the Earth Summit, the commission should give the utmost priority to the question of the means of implementation of Agenda 21, namely, financial resources, capacity-building and technology transfer.

During the past months the process of reform in the economic and social sectors of the United Nations system has evolved to the present critical stage. My delegation is encouraged by the growing consensus on, and renewed efforts to revitalize, the Economic and Social Council as a central and credible forum for dialogue and formulation of international strategies as well as for a more effective coordination and harmonization of actions of the United Nations system. I should like to underline the great importance of the current reform exercise, which should ultimately lead to enhancing the effectiveness and efficient functioning of the United Nations system, in order to be more responsive to the current needs of international economic cooperation and to promote the development of developing countries.

(Mr. Mocumbi, Mozambique)

Likewise, we attach great importance to the reform measures aimed at improving the capacity of the United Nations to coordinate and deliver in a timely manner humanitarian assistance to refugees and displaced persons, in situations both of conflict and of natural disasters.

The evolving world situation has opened a new window of fresh opportunities and challenges to the whole international community and to the United Nations in particular. In this regard, my delegation has carefully studied the Secretary-General's report on the work of the Organization (A/47/1), as well as his report entitled "An Agenda for Peace" (A/47/277).

We think that the Secretary-General's assessment is very timely and pertinent in the current United Nations history. We have learned from our own experience that both an agenda for peace and an agenda for development constitute important and inseparable issues in today's world. We therefore strongly believe in the role of the United Nations as the most appropriate forum for the harmonization of the global interests of all nations and for the promotion of an appropriate political atmosphere of understanding, consensus and international cooperation among the peoples and nations of the world.

May I invite, from this floor, all Member States jointly to rededicate and commit ourselves to the strengthening of the role of the United Nations, giving it the necessary thrust, so as to enable it to fulfil with zeal and confidence its tasks as the guardian of international peace and security, as prescribed in the Charter.

AGENDA ITEM 8 (continued)

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA AND ORGANIZATION OF WORK: NOTE BY THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (A/47/243)

The PRESIDENT: The General Assembly will now consider the Secretary-General's request for the inclusion of an additional item in the agenda of the forty-seventh session.

In this connection, a note by the Secretary-General has been circulated in document A/47/243. In his note, the Secretary-General, pursuant to rule 15 of the rules of procedure, requests that an additional item of an important and urgent character be placed on the agenda, entitled "Financing of the United Nations Operation in Somalia". Owing to the nature of the item, he also requests that the item be allocated to the Fifth Committee for consideration.

Under the circumstances of the present case, may I take it that the General Assembly agrees that the provision of rule 40 of the rules of procedure, which would require a meeting of the General Committee on the question of the inclusion of an additional item on the agenda, could be waived?

It was so decided.

The PRESIDENT: May I also take it that the Assembly wishes to include an additional item to read as follows: "Financing of the United Nations Operation in Somalia", and to allocate that item to the Fifth Committee for consideration?

It was so decided.

The PRESIDENT: The Chairman of the Fifth Committee will be informed of the decision just taken.

The meeting rose at 8 p.m.